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Current Background

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B.C.C.

No. 967
September 8, 1972

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Statements by PRC Delegations and Representatives
to the United Nations

(November 1971-March 1972)

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**Head of Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua
Makes Statement at New York Airport**

(NCNA-English New York, Nov. 11, 1971)

chiao kuan-hua,
head of the delegation of the people's republic of
china to the 26th session of the general assembly of the
united nations, made a statement at the airport upon the
delegation's arrival in new york today. the full text
of the statement reads:

it is a pleasure today for the delegation of the
government of the people's republic of china to come to
new york to attend the 26th session of the general
assembly of the united nations. we express deep thanks
to the representatives of the united nations headquarters,
the representatives of various countries and all friends
who have come to meet us.

the chinese people and the peoples of the world have
always been friendly. the chinese government has
consistently stood for the establishment and development
of normal relations with other countries on the basis of
the five principles of peaceful co-existence and has
all along supported the oppressed peoples and nations in
their just struggles to win freedom and liberation,
oppose foreign interference and become masters of their
own destiny. following the established policies of
the chinese government, our delegation will work jointly
in the united nations with the representatives of all
the countries that love peace and uphold justice for the
cause of safeguarding international peace and promoting
human progress.

the people of the united states are a great people and
there exists a profound friendship between the peoples of
china and the united states. we would like to take this
opportunity to convey our good wishes to the people of
all walks of life of new york city and the american
people.

**Speech by Chairman of Delegation of
People's Republic of China at General
Assembly of United Nations**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 15, 1971)

following
is the full text of the speech by chiao kuan-hua,
chairman of the delegation of the people's republic of
china, at today's plenary meeting of the 26th session
of the general assembly of the united nations:

mr. president,

fellow representatives,

first of all, allow me, in the name of the delegation
of the people's republic of china, to thank
mr. president and the representatives of many countries
for the welcome they have given us.

many friends have made very enthusiastic speeches expressing their trust in as well as encouragement and fraternal sentiments for the chinese people. we are deeply moved by this, and we shall convey all this to the entire chinese people.

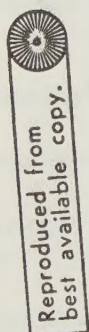
it is a pleasure for the delegation of the people's republic of china to be here today to attend the 26th session of the general assembly of the united nations and take part together with you in the work of the united nations.

as is known to all, china is one of the founding members of the united nations. in 1949, the chinese people overthrew the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and founded the people's republic of china. Since then, the legitimate rights of china in the united nations should have gone to the people's republic of china as a matter of course. It was only because of the obstruction by the united states government that the legitimate rights of the people's republic of china in the united nations was deprived of for a long time and that the Chiang Kai-shek clique long repudiated by the chinese people was able to usurp china's lawful seat in the united nations. this was a gross interference in china's internal affairs as well as a wilful trampling on the charter of the united nations. now such an unjustifiable state of affairs has finally been put right.

on october 25, 1971, the current session of the general assembly of the united nations adopted by an overwhelming majority the resolution restoring to the people's republic of china all its lawful rights in the united nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the united nations and all the organizations related to it. this proves the bankruptcy of the policies of hostility towards the chinese people and of isolating and imposing a blockade on them. this is a defeat of the plan of the u.s. government in collusion with the Sato government of japan to create "two chinas" in the united nations. this is a victory for chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. this is a common victory for the people all over the world.

upholding principle and justice, the 23 sponsor countries of the resolution, albania, algeria, burma, ceylon, cuba, equatorial guinea, guinea, iraq, mali, mauritania, nepal, pakistan, the people's democratic republic of yemen, the people's republic of the congo, romania, sierra leone, somalia, the sudan, syria, the united republic of tanzania, the arab republic of yemen, yugoslavia and zambia have made unremitting and fruitful efforts to restore china's legitimate rights in the united nations; many friendly countries which supported this resolution have also made contributions to this end. some other countries have expressed their sympathy for china in various ways. on behalf of the chinese government and people, i express heartfelt thanks to the governments and people of all these countries.

26 years have elapsed since the founding of the united nations. 26 years are but a brief span in human history, yet during this period profound changes have taken place in the world situation. when the united nations was first founded, there were only 51 member states and now the membership has grown to 131. of the 80



members that joined later, the overwhelming majority are countries which achieved independence after world war ii. in the past 20 years and more, the peoples of asia, africa and latin america have waged unflinching struggles to win and safeguard national independence and oppose foreign aggression and oppression. in europe, north america and oceania, too, mass movements and social tides for the change of the present state of affairs are rising. an increasing number of medium and small countries are uniting to oppose the hegemony and power policies practised by the one or two superpowers and to fight for the right to settle their own affairs as independent and sovereign states and for equal status in international relations. countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution, this has become an irresistible trend of history.

human society invariably makes constant progress, and such progress is always achieved through innumerable revolutions and transformations. take the united states, where the united nations headquarters is situated. it was owing to the victory of the revolutionary war of 1776 led by washington that the american people won independence. and it was owing to the great revolution of 1789 that the french people rid themselves of the yoke of feudalism. after mankind entered the 20th century, the victory of the 1917 russian october socialist revolution led by the great lenin opened up a broad path to freedom and liberation for the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. the advance of history and social progress gladden the hearts of and inspire the peoples of the world and throw into panic a handful of decadent reactionary forces who do their utmost to put up desperate struggles. they commit armed aggression against other countries, subvert the legal governments of other countries, interfere in other countries' internal affairs, subject other countries to their political, military and economic control and bully other countries at will. since world war ii, no new world war has occurred, yet local wars have never ceased. at present, the danger of a new world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today. although there are twists and turns and reverses in the people's struggles, adverse currents against the people and against progress, in the final analysis, cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society. the world will surely move towards progress and light, and definitely not towards reaction and darkness.

mr. president and fellow representatives,

the chinese people have experienced untold sufferings under imperialist oppression. for one century and more, imperialism repeatedly launched wars of aggression against china and forced her to sign many unequal treaties. they divided china into their spheres of influence, plundered china's resources and exploited the chinese people. the degree of poverty and lack of freedom suffered by the chinese people in the past are known to all. in order to win national independence, freedom and liberation, the chinese people, advancing wave upon wave in a dauntless spirit, waged protracted heroic struggles against imperialism and its lackeys and finally won the revolution under the leadership of their great leader chairman mao tsetung and the chinese communist party. since the founding of the people's republic of china, we, the chinese people, defying the tight imperialist

blockades and withstanding the terrific pressure from without, have built our country into a socialist state with initial prosperity by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance. It has been proved by facts that we the chinese nation are fully capable of standing on our own feet in the family of nations.

taiwan is a province of china and the 14 million people who live in taiwan are our fellow-countrymen by flesh and blood. taiwan was already returned to the motherland after world war ii in accordance with the cairo declaration and the potsdam proclamation, and our compatriots in taiwan already returned to the embrace of their motherland. the u.s. government officially confirmed this fact on more than one occasion in 1949 and 1950, and publicly stated that the taiwan question was china's internal affair and that the u.s. government had no intention to interfere in it. it was only because of the outbreak of the korean war that the u.s. government went back on its own words and sent armed forces to invade and occupy china's taiwan and the taiwan straits, and to date they are still there. the spreading in certain places of the fallacy that "the status of taiwan remains to be determined" is a conspiracy to plot "an independent taiwan" and continue to create "one china, one taiwan", which is in effect to create "two chinas". on behalf of the government of the people's republic of china, i hereby reiterate that taiwan is an inalienable part of china's territory and the u.s. armed invasion and occupation of china's taiwan and the taiwan straits cannot in the least alter the sovereignty of the people's republic of china over taiwan, that all the armed forces of the united states definitely should be withdrawn from taiwan and the taiwan straits and that we are firmly opposed to any design to separate taiwan from the motherland. the chinese people are determined to liberate taiwan and no force on earth can stop us from doing so.

mr. president and fellow representatives,

the chinese people who suffered for a long time from imperialist aggression and oppression have consistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all the oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. this position of the chinese government and people is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of the world and is also in accord with the spirit of the united nations charter.

the u.s. government's armed aggression against viet nam, cambodia and laos and its encroachment upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of these three countries have aggravated tension in the far east, and met with strong opposition of the people of the world, including the american people. the chinese government and people firmly support the peoples of the three countries of indochina in their war against u.s. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support the joint declaration of the summit conference of the indochinese peoples and the 7-point peace proposal put forward by the provisional revolutionary government of the republic of south viet nam. the u.s. government should withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its armed forces and the armed forces of its followers from the three countries of indochina so that the peoples of the three

countries may solve their own problems independently and free from foreign interference; this is the key to the relaxation of tension in the far east.

to date, korea still remains divided. the chinese people's volunteers have long since withdrawn from korea but up to now the u.s. troops still remain in south korea. the peaceful unification of their fatherland is the common aspiration of the entire korean people. the chinese government and people firmly support the 8-point programme for the peaceful unification of the fatherland put forward by the democratic people's republic of korea in april this year and firmly support its just demand that all the illegal resolutions adopted by the united nations on the korean question be annulled and the "united nations commission for the unification and rehabilitation of korea" be dissolved.

the essence of the middle east question is aggression against the palestinian and other arab peoples by israeli zionism with the support and connivance of the super-powers. the chinese government and people resolutely support the palestinian and other arab peoples in their just struggle against aggression and believe that persevering in struggle and upholding unity the heroic palestinian and other arab peoples will surely be able to recover the lost territories of the arab countries and restore to the palestinian people their national rights. the chinese government maintains that all countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice have the obligation to support the struggle of the palestinian and other arab peoples, and no one has the right to engage in political deals behind their backs bartering away their right to existence and their national interests.

the continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a provocation against the peoples of the world. the chinese government and people resolutely support the people of mozambique, angola and guinea (bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, and resolutely support the people of azania, zimbabwe and namibia in their struggle against the white colonialist rule and racial discrimination. their struggle is a just one, and a just cause will surely triumph.

the independence of a country is incomplete without economic independence. the economic backwardness of the asian, african and latin american countries is the result of imperialist plunder. opposition to economic plunder and protection of national resources are the inalienable sovereign rights of an independent state. china is still an economically backward country as well as a developing country. Like the overwhelming majority of the asian, african and latin american countries, china belongs to the third world. the chinese government and people resolutely support the struggles initiated by latin american countries and peoples to defend their rights over 200-nautical-mile territorial sea and to protect the resources of their respective countries. the chinese government and people resolutely support the struggles unfolded by the petroleum-exporting countries in asia, africa and latin america as well as various regional and specialized organizations to protect their national rights and interests and oppose economic plunder.

we have consistently maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal and that the five principles of peaceful coexistence should be taken as the principles guiding the relations between countries. the people of

each country have the right to choose the social system of their own country according to their own will and to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own country. no country has the right to subject another country to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. we are opposed to the imperialist and colonialist theory that big nations are superior to the small nations and small nations are subordinate to the big nations. we are opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big nations bullying small ones or strong nations bullying weak ones. we hold that the affairs of a given country must be handled by its own people, that the affairs of the world must be handled by all the countries of the world, and that the affairs of the united nations must be handled jointly by all its member states, and the superpowers should not be allowed to manipulate and monopolize them. the superpowers want to be superior to others and lord it over others. at no time, neither today nor ever in the future, will china be a superpower subjecting others to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying.

the one or two superpowers are stepping up their arms expansion and war preparations and vigorously developing nuclear weapons, thus seriously threatening international peace. it is understandable that the people of the world long for disarmament and particularly for nuclear disarmament. their demand for the dissolution of military blocs, withdrawal of foreign troops and dismantling of foreign military bases is a just one. however, the superpowers, while talking about disarmament every day, are actually engaged in arms expansion daily. the so-called nuclear disarmament which they are supposed to seek is entirely for the purpose of monopolizing nuclear weapons in order to carry out nuclear threats and blackmail. china will never participate in the so-called nuclear disarmament talks between the nuclear powers behind the backs of the non-nuclear countries. china's nuclear weapons are still in the experimental stage. china develops nuclear weapons solely for the purpose of defence, and for breaking the nuclear monopoly and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons and nuclear war. the chinese government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and proposed to convene a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss this question and, as the first step, to reach an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons. the chinese government has on many occasions declared, and now on behalf of the chinese government, i once again solemnly declare that at no time and under no circumstances will china be the first to use nuclear weapons. if the united states and the soviet union really and truly want disarmament, they should commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. this is not something difficult to do. whether this is done or not will be a severe test as to whether they have the genuine desire for disarmament.

we have always held that the just struggles of the people of all countries support each other. china has always had the sympathy and support of the people of various countries in her socialist revolution and socialist construction. it is our bounden duty to support the just struggles of the people of various countries. for this purpose, we have provided aid to some friendly countries to help them develop their national economy independently. in providing aid, we always strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and

never attach any conditions or ask for any privileges. we provide free military aid to countries and peoples who are fighting against aggression. we will never become munition merchants. we firmly oppose certain countries trying to control and plunder the recipient countries by means of "aid". however, as china's economy is still comparatively backward, the material aid we have provided is very limited, and what we provide is mainly political and moral support. with a population of 700 million, china ought to make a greater contribution to human progress. and we hope that this situation of our ability falling short of this wish of ours will be gradually changed.

mr. president and fellow representatives,

in accordance with the purposes of the united nations charter, the united nations should play its due role in maintaining international peace, opposing aggression and interference and developing friendly relations and cooperation among nations. however, for a long period the one or two superpowers have utilized the united nations and have done many things in contravention of the united nations charter against the will of the people of various countries. this situation should not continue. we hope that the spirit of the united nations charter will be really and truly followed out. we will stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice and work together with them for the defence of the national independence and state sovereignty of various countries and for the cause of safeguarding international peace and promoting human progress.

**Representative Fu Hao Sets Forth in UN
Chinese Government's Stand on So-called
"Question of Refugees from East Pakistan"**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 19, 1971)

representative fu hao of the delegation of the people's republic of china to the united nations made a speech this afternoon setting forth the chinese government's stand on the so-called "question of refugees from east pakistan", when this question was discussed at a meeting of the third committee (social, humanitarian and cultural committee) of the u.n. general assembly.

fu hao said, "the chinese government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of the country themselves. the question that has arisen in east pakistan is purely pakistan's internal affair which can only be settled by the pakistan people themselves, and no country has the right to interfere in it under any pretext."

he went on, "the so-called question of refugees from east pakistan came into being and developed to its present state due to a certain country's intervention in pakistan's internal affairs, which has resulted in the present tension on the sub-continent. recently the pakistan government has repeatedly proposed to relax the tension on the sub-continent and settle the question

of refugees. but all these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. they continue to exploit the question of refugees from east pakistan to interfere in the internal affairs of pakistan, to carry out subversive activities against her and obstruct the return of the east pakistani refugees to their homeland, making it impossible to reach a reasonable settlement on the question of the refugees from east pakistan. these tactics of interference in the internal affairs of other countries are well known to the chinese government and people. in our experience, a certain neighbouring country plotted a rebellion in the tibetan region of our country and carried out subversive activities. when the rebellion plotted by them was smashed by the chinese people, they coerced tens of thousands of chinese inhabitants into going to their country, creating a question of so-called 'tibetan refugees' in wild opposition against china. we hold that in order to attain a reasonable settlement of the question of refugees from east pakistan, the interference in pakistan's internal affairs must be stopped first of all. only in this way can the refugees of east pakistan truly be assisted in returning to their homeland."

fu hao stressed in conclusion, "the chinese government has always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence, never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries under the pretext of a so-called 'refugee question' or anything else. as for disputes between states, we have always held that they should be settled through consultation between the countries concerned. we believe that the broad masses of the pakistan people are patriotic, are opposed to foreign interference, and they will certainly be able to solve their own problems."

Speech of Permanent Representative of People's Republic of China on UN Security Council

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 23, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china on the u.n. security council, attended a council meeting this afternoon. he was welcomed by the representatives of the member states of the security council attending the meeting. following is the full text of huang hua's speech at today's council meeting:

mr. president, fellow representatives,

allow me to express thanks to the president and our fellow representatives for their welcome to the chinese representative. it is a pleasure for us to take part, together with the other members of the security council, in the work of this council.

after world war ii, very profound changes have taken place in the world situation. countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution; this has become the main trend of the present international situation, propelling the advance of history and social

progress. however, the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and particularly the one or two superpowers have not ceased their activities in practising power politics and in carrying out aggression, interference, subversion and control against other countries and people. the struggle between aggression versus anti-aggression, interference versus anti-interference, subversion versus anti-subversion and control versus anti-control is becoming ever more acute. since the end of world war ii, although a new world war has not broken out, local wars have not ceased and tensions have occurred one after the other. there is no peace on earth. the danger of a new world war still exists. the people of the whole world must be vigilant.

over a long period, the chinese people have suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression; they have persistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all the oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. the chinese people have always received the sympathy and support of the people of various countries in our struggle for independence and liberation over the past century and more and in the cause of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. we regard it as our bounden duty to give support to the just struggles of the people of all countries.

according to the purposes of the united nations charter, the security council should play its due role in maintaining international peace and opposing aggression and interference. it is our hope that the spirit of the united nations charter will be followed out. to this end, we will stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice and work for the defence of the national independence and state sovereignty of various countries, the safeguarding of international peace and the promotion of human progress.

**Chairman of Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-
Hua Speaks at UN General Assembly Plenary
Meeting on Soviet Proposal for Convening
World Disarmament Conference**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 24, 1971)

chiao

kuan-hua, chairman of the delegation of the people's republic of china, spoke at the plenary meeting of the u.n. general assembly this afternoon in connection with the proposal of the soviet delegation for convening a world disarmament conference which has been under discussion in the general assembly. the full text of his speech follows:

mr. president, fellow representatives;

in our speech of november 15, the delegation of the people's republic of china already made clear the chinese government's basic stand on the question of disarmament. now i would like to make some remarks on the proposal of the soviet delegation for convening a world disarmament conference.

1. china has always been in favour of disarmament. but in our opinion, it should not be said in a vague way that the question of disarmament is of paramount importance. it would not do to put the blame for the arms race on all countries, and it would not be correct indiscriminately to demand disarmament by all countries alike. the actual state of affairs at present is that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are continuing to pursue their policies of aggression and war and that many asian, african and latin american countries and some other medium and small countries are being subjected to threats and aggression. these countries cannot but build and strengthen their own defence forces in order to prevent and resist foreign aggression, interference, subversion and control. for instance, the peoples of viet nam, laos and cambodia are engaged in a war against u.s. aggression and for national salvation; the palestinian and other arab peoples are engaged in the struggle for their right to national existence and for the recovery of their occupied territories; guinea and some other african countries are engaged in struggles against the colonialists' armed aggression and threats of subversion; and the people of mozambique, angola, guinea (bissau), zimbabwe, azania and namibia are engaged in struggles for national liberation against the white colonialist rule and racial oppression. they have taken up arms simply because they are compelled to do so, and it is not at all a question of arms race. at present, the question of paramount importance to the people of these countries and regions is, of course, not disarmament but the defence of national independence and sovereignty and the winning of the right to national existence. the idea that all countries must adopt measures for disarmament without distinguishing the aggressors from the victims of aggression and those who threaten others from those who are threatened can only lead the question of disarmament onto a wrong path and benefit imperialism.

2. a quarter of a century has elapsed since the end of world war ii. to date, the two superpowers are still stationing ground, naval and air forces, well over a million, and have established thousands of military bases abroad. it is these superpowers which have obstinately rejected the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, feverishly developing nuclear weapons and contending with each other for nuclear superiority, and they are doing this in order to press forward with their policies of blackmail, expansion, aggression and war. the threat to world peace and the security of the people of all countries originates precisely from these two superpowers. in these circumstances, it is entirely just for the people of the world and all peace-loving countries to demand that those two superpowers withdraw to their own countries all their forces abroad and dismantle all their military bases on foreign soil, and to demand the adoption of effective measures to prevent nuclear war. the general assembly of the united nations is duty-bound to take effective and not perfunctory, earnest and not superficial measures to satisfy these just demands and prevent the danger of a new world war, particularly of a nuclear war.

as early as july 31, 1963, the chinese government issued a statement advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing the convocation of a conference of the heads of government of all countries

of the world to discuss this issue. In this statement, the Chinese government proposed the following: "all countries in the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, solemnly declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely. Concretely speaking, they will not use nuclear weapons, nor export, nor import, nor manufacture, nor test, nor stockpile them; and they will destroy all the existing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery in the world, and disband all the existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world." This proposal of the Chinese government has received the support of many countries. Regrettably, however, the two nuclear powers have thus far failed to make a positive response. Instead, since the sixties the two nuclear powers have concocted the partial nuclear test ban treaty, the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, etc. These agreements, which some people laud as intended for nuclear disarmament by accumulative means, are in essence a camouflage for their own nuclear arms expansion in the name of nuclear disarmament, a means for consolidating the nuclear monopoly of the two superpowers and carrying out nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail against the Asian, African and Latin American countries as well as other medium and small countries. Their main idea is: only I can have nuclear weapons; you are not allowed to have nuclear weapons. This is of course unreasonable. In the absence of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, it is impossible to expect the other countries, which are subjected to the threat of the two nuclear powers, not to develop nuclear weapons for the purpose of self-defence.

3. In order to take the first step towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, one must grasp the key question and not be entangled with subsidiary issues. First and foremost, the countries possessing nuclear weapons should undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, and particularly undertake not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones. It should not be difficult to undertake such obligations if one truly has the desire to avert a nuclear war and move towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Many countries are now demanding the establishment of nuclear-free zones or peace zones. These are just demands which China supports. However, to free these zones truly from the threat of nuclear war, it is necessary, first of all, for all the nuclear countries to guarantee that they will not use nuclear weapons against these countries and zones and will withdraw all their nuclear forces and dismantle all their nuclear bases and nuclear installations from these zones. Otherwise, it will be totally impossible to establish nuclear-free zones or peace zones, and the danger of nuclear war will still exist.

The two nuclear superpowers have not only produced and stockpiled large quantities of nuclear weapons in their own countries but also established nuclear bases on the territories of other countries; their planes carrying nuclear weapons fly in the airspace of other countries and their warships carrying nuclear weapons ply in the oceans all over the world. This poses a grave menace to the security of the people of all countries. The Japanese people had their own experience in this respect. Therefore, if the nuclear powers truly do

not have the intention to engage in nuclear threats and really want to realize nuclear disarmament, they should dismantle all their nuclear bases abroad and withdraw all their nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad. otherwise, how can you expect people to believe that you have any desire for nuclear disarmament?

4. china is compelled to develop nuclear weapons because she is under the nuclear threat of the two superpowers. we develop nuclear weapons solely for the purpose of self-defence and for breaking the superpowers' nuclear monopoly and finally eliminating nuclear weapons. china's nuclear weapons are still in the experimental stage, and the experiments are only carried out within the territory of our own country and confined within necessary limits. china will never be a "superpower" pursuing the policies of nuclear monopoly, nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail, neither today nor ever in the future. upon china's first nuclear explosion, the chinese government solemnly declared to the whole world, and i reaffirmed in my speech of november 15 on behalf of the chinese government, that at no time and in no circumstances would china be the first to use nuclear weapons. we always mean what we say. we stand for the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war. but confronted with the danger of foreign aggression, including that of a sudden nuclear attack, the chinese people cannot but intensify their preparations against war. our preparations against war are entirely defensive in nature. our consistent policy is: we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. we sincerely hope that an agreement can be reached on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. however, before the realization of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, we cannot give up the necessary self-defence.

5. the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear threats are matters affecting the peace and security of all countries of the world. on such issues of great importance, all countries in the world, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, should have the same say; no handful of countries have the right to brush aside the majority of countries in the world and arbitrarily hold a conference to deliberate and make decisions on such matters. i hereby once again reaffirm on behalf of the chinese government that at no time will china ever agree to participate in the so-called nuclear disarmament talks among the nuclear powers behind the backs of the non-nuclear countries. china has a few nuclear weapons, but she will never join the so-called club of nuclear powers.

the chinese government has consistently stood for the convening of a world conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. the convocation of such a conference must be truly conducive to nuclear disarmament and the reduction of nuclear war threats and must not be used to cover up nuclear arms expansion and increase the threat of nuclear war; it must help push forward the struggle of the peace-loving people of the world for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and not serve to lull and deceive them.

such a conference must have a clear aim, that is, to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and as the first step,

to reach a solemn agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons by all nuclear countries at any time and in any circumstances.

the chinese government also maintains that in order to realize the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, the united states and the soviet union which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons should, first of all, issue statements separately or jointly to undertake openly the obligation.

1) not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances and not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and against nuclear-free zones;

2) dismantle all nuclear bases set up on the territories of other countries and withdraw all their nuclear armed forces and all nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad.

as for the level of the conference, we still hold that it should be attended by the heads of government of all countries, but we are also prepared to hear and consider different opinions. as to whether it should be convened inside or outside the united nations, this question is open for discussion and consultation among all.

6. in the opinion of the chinese delegation, the soviet delegation's proposal for convening a world disarmament conference has neither set out a clear aim nor put forward practical steps for its attainment. if the soviet proposal is to be acted upon, such a world disarmament conference would inevitably become a permanent club for endless discussions that solve no substantive problems, which will result in perpetual arms expansion alongside perpetual disarmament talks. this is not in keeping with the desire of the people of all countries, and we cannot agree to it.

international disarmament talks have been going on for many years now; innumerable meetings have been held and innumerable declarations, statements and agreements have been published. the united nations has passed a great number of resolutions. although many member states have favoured these resolutions out of good intentions and in the hope that they may give an impetus to disarmament, the hard facts are that these resolutions remain but empty papers that are utilized by the two superpowers to hoodwink world opinion.

the chinese delegation holds that we should sum up the historical experience of the past twenty years and more and draw the necessary lessons. we should not allow the united nations to become a tool for implementing the policies of certain big powers. to meet their political needs of a given time, they resort to various means to secure a majority for the adoption of some high-sounding resolutions. however, after the resolutions have been adopted, the superpowers have continued and even intensified their arms expansion and war preparations. the result of this can only be: the greater the number of the resolutions adopted, the lower the prestige of the united nations. the time has now come to change this inglorious situation. we should endeavour to make a new start. none of us should act rashly and make hasty decisions on such a major problem as disarmament. we should consult each other fully and continue the discussions to find a way truly conducive to nuclear

disarmament, and avoid discussions that lead to no solutions or decisions that are not put into effect, for this can only further disappoint the people of the world.

therefore, the chinese delegation proposes that the soviet draft resolution for convening a world disarmament conference not be put to vote at this session of the general assembly.

UN Security Council Adopts Resolution Condemning Portuguese Aggression;

Chinese Permanent Representative Huang Hua Speaks at Council Meeting

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 24, 1971)

the united nations security council adopted a resolution at a meeting today condemning portugal's violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of senegal. huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china on the u.n. security council, spoke at the meeting, strongly condemning portuguese aggression against senegal, guinea, tanzania and zambia, and reaffirming china's resolute support for the just struggle of the peoples of guinea (bissau), angola and mozambique against colonialism.

a debate was held at the meeting on the report of the council's special mission to senegal and on the draft resolution submitted yesterday by burundi, sierra leone and somalia on this question.

after the debate, the draft resolution was put to vote and adopted by 14 to 0 with 1 abstention. u.s. representative george bush abstained on the excuse that his delegation had "difficulties" with some of the wording and some omissions in the text of the draft resolution.

the adopted resolution condemns the portuguese authorities for their "acts of violence and destruction" against the territory and people of senegal and asked them to take immediate effective measures so that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of senegal would be fully respected. the resolution also urged the portuguese authorities to respect the inalienable right of the people of guinea (bissau) to self-determination and independence.

speaking after the vote, huang hua, chinese permanent representative on the security council, said, "for years the portuguese authorities have repeatedly committed armed aggression against the republic of senegal, threatening its territorial integrity and national security, causing a loss of life to the senegalese people and creating tension which endangers peace in that region."

huang hua said, "we have also taken note of the armed aggression committed by the portuguese authorities against the territory of the republic of guinea, the united republic of tanzania and the republic of zambia and their violent suppression of the struggle for national independence of the people of guinea (bissau), angola and mozambique. they are actively pushing a policy of racial discrimination in collusion with the white colonialist rulers of south africa and southern rhodesia. facts have proved that the colonialist policy of the portuguese authorities constitutes a threat to the sovereignty and security of independent african countries, a challenge to the african peoples' right to national independence, and a gross violation of the spirit of the united nations charter."

he said, "for this reason, we strongly condemn the portuguese authorities' aggression against the republic of senegal and brutal suppression of the peoples of guinea (bissau) and other areas who are fighting for national independence. we support the draft resolution put forward by burundi, sierra leone and somalia. but judging from the record of the portuguese colonialists, one should not cherish illusions about the results of the resolution. the nature of colonialists will not change. who can guarantee that this resolution will not, like the several previous resolutions, be scorned at, boycotted and sabotaged by the portuguese colonialists? who can guarantee that the colonialists will put an end to their acts of aggression and sabotage against the territory and people of senegal?"

in conclusion, huang hua said, "the chinese government and people resolutely support the just struggle of the peoples of senegal, guinea (bissau), angola, mozambique and other countries and areas to defend and win national independence. their struggle has widespread sympathy and support from the countries and peoples opposing colonialism. we are deeply convinced that their struggle will surely win final victory."

Third Committee of UN General Assembly Adopts Resolution Condemning Portuguese South African and Other Colonial Authorities

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 26, 1971)

the third

committee of the u.n. general assembly adopted a resolution yesterday condemning the portuguese, south african and other colonial authorities for suppressing national liberation movements and interfering in the internal affairs of independent african states. chinese representative fu hao voted in favour of the resolution.

the resolution supports the struggle of the people of zimbabwe, namibia, angola, mozambique, guinea (bissau) and palestine for self-determination and national liberation, and calls upon all states to give political, moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting for national liberation, self-determination and independence. the resolution strongly condemns some states, saying, "particularly portugal and south africa,

pursue the imperialist policy of colonialism, use force against independent african states and developing countries and peoples fighting for self-determination". it also condemns "the policy of certain states members of nato that contribute to the creation in southern africa of a military-industrial complex whose aim is the suppression of the movement of peoples struggling for their self-determination and interference in the affairs of independent african states".

the vote was recorded as 74 in favour to 12 against (including the united states, israel, portugal and britain) with 27 abstentions. during the debate on the draft resolution, the u.s. representative put forward amendments for five times in an attempt to evade condemnation against imperialism and colonialism and prevent its adoption. but all the five u.s. proposed amendments were rejected by the majority of the representatives.

in a speech before the voting yesterday, chinese representative fu hao declared the chinese delegation's opposition to all the u.s. amendments and reiterated the solemn stand of the chinese government in consistently supporting the struggle of the peoples against colonialism and imperialism, and for national liberation and national independence.

fu hao said, "the question we are discussing today is one of the right of national self-determination and independence of the people of colonial countries. we hold that this question stems from the existence of imperialism and colonialism. the continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a challenge to the peoples of the world. therefore, the chinese government and people have always resolutely supported the people of mozambique, angola, guinea (bissau) and other regions in their struggle for national liberation, resolutely supported the people of azania, zimbabwe and namibia in their struggle against colonial rule and racial discrimination, and resolutely supported the palestinian people in their just struggle for recovering their national rights and against imperialism and zionism."

fu hao expressed approval of the point in the amendment proposed by algeria and others that "palestine" must not be deleted from the amendments. he pointed out, "from the speeches of some representatives it seems that the palestine nation does not exist on earth, nor does the palestinian struggle for national rights. this is shutting one's eyes to realities."

fu hao said in conclusion, "the u.s. representative in his speech has tried his utmost to avoid the justifiable inclusion of condemnation against imperialism and colonialism in the draft resolution. or in other words, they dislike or they are afraid of these words. and why? in our view, it is because they want to evade the essence of the question under discussion. this is completely unjustifiable and we are firmly against this."

Chairman of Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua Sternly Refutes Soviet Representative's Attack on China at Plenary Meeting of UN General Assembly

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 27, 1972)

chiao kuan-hua, chairman of the delegation of the people's republic of china, made a speech at the plenary meeting of the u.n. general assembly yesterday afternoon, sternly refuting the distortion, slander and attack made by yakov a. malik, permanent representative of the soviet union to the u.n., in a speech at the plenary meeting on the afternoon of november 24, against the chinese government's principled stand on disarmament question.

full text of chiao kuan-hua's speech follows:

mr. president, fellow representatives,

the chinese delegation deems it necessary to make a few remarks in regard to the speech delivered by the soviet representative mr. malik at the meeting of november 24.

1. the soviet representative tried hard to deny that the soviet union is a superpower and that, like the united states, the soviet union attempts to monopolize nuclear weapons and push its policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats against other countries. such an attempt is utterly futile. everyone knows that it is precisely the soviet union and the united states, which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons, that have up to now obstinately refused to undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and they have continued to maintain large numbers of armed forces and military bases on foreign soil, including nuclear armed forces and nuclear bases. the partial nuclear test ban treaty and the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons jointly devised by the united states and the soviet union are something entirely imposed on others; they are aimed at monopolizing nuclear weapons and controlling other countries. we can never agree to them. the soviet leadership has carried out aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. this is clearly known to the representatives of many countries present here. china had her own experience in this respect, and here i will not speak at length about the relevant history. countless facts have shown that what the soviet leadership is practising is certainly not socialism but, as lenin put it, socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, that is, social-imperialism.

2. the soviet representative denounced china's disagreement to the soviet proposal for convening a world disarmament conference as a "sino-american duet of negativism". these are cheap and demagogic remarks which are not worth refuting. who, after all, is singing a duet with u.s. imperialism? to the north of china, large numbers of soviet armed forces including rocket forces are stationed in the people's republic of mongolia; to the east of china, the united states is maintaining a large number of military bases and nuclear bases in japan proper and okinawa.

is this not a kind of duet? this is not only true with regard to china. in europe, the middle east, the mediterranean, the indian ocean and other parts of the world, the soviet leadership considers that the final say rests only with an agreement between the soviet union and the united states. is this not a duet?

3. the speech of the soviet representative is a splendid self-exposure. the soviet representative is upset when other people call the soviet union a superpower, yet his speech has vividly revealed the features of a superpower, which lords it over and orders other countries about. it is entirely china's own business as to how the chinese delegation should speak and act and what stand it should take here. there is no need whatsoever for the soviet representative to lecture us. the soviet attitude towards the chinese delegation is exactly the same as the crude behaviour towards some afro-asian countries adopted by another superpower not long ago. the soviet representatives have probably become used to acting the patriarch within their small realm, and they consider that whatever they say, others will have to obey. otherwise they will label you as anti-soviet. distinguished representatives of the soviet union, you are wrong exclamation this is not anti-sovietism; this is opposition to your attitude of great-power chauvinism and your policies of social-imperialism. we have long had experience with such behaviour of yours. the chinese people do not buy such stuff of yours, and your baton no longer works. the days are gone when the superpowers could dominate the world. an increasing number of medium and small countries in the world have more and more seen through your true features. the sooner the soviet delegation understands this, the better for themselves and the work of the united nations.

4. in his speech, the soviet representative unweariedly boasted that the soviet union had fought for disarmament for more than two decades, putting up the airs of a "veteran peace fighter". a simple but important principle of marxism-leninism is that one must judge a person not merely by his words but by his deeds. not long ago, the soviet union concluded with a neighbour of china a so-called treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation which is in essence a treaty of military alliance. with the encouragement and support of this treaty, that country launched bare-faced armed aggression against pakistan, another neighbour of china, thus aggravating tension in asia. this fully reveals the true features of the "foreign policy of peace" pursued by the soviet leadership. the chinese government and people have consistently maintained that disputes between countries should be resolved through consultation between the countries concerned without resorting to the use of force. the chinese government and people will, as always, firmly support the pakistan people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and for the defence of their national sovereignty and unity.

in short, on the question of aggression and anti-aggression, disarmament and arms expansion, peace and war, one must be judged by his deeds. bragging and boasting, or putting on the airs of an "old-timer" are of no avail. if the soviet government truly has the desire for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the soviet representative should

come forward to this rostrum and solemnly declare that at no time and in no circumstances will the soviet union be the first to use nuclear weapons and that it will dismantle all nuclear bases and withdraw all nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad. distinguished soviet representatives, do you dare to do so? if you are man enough, you will do it. but if you have a guilty conscience and an unjust cause, you will not dare to do so, because although you appear to be tough outwardly, you are in fact timid inwardly. we are certain that you will not dare to do so. is this not true? please reply exclamation

5. in order to enable all the member states of the united nations to hold full consultation and discussion on such an important issue as disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the chinese delegation has proposed that the soviet draft resolution for convening a world disarmament conference not be put to vote at this session of the general assembly. our desire is that we should strive to enable the united nations on the principle of reaching consensus through consultation to make a new start on this question that is truly conducive to disarmament. we still hope that our fellow representatives will give serious consideration to our view. however, if the soviet delegation insists on putting its draft resolution to a vote, the chinese delegation cannot but declare with regret that china will not participate in the voting and will assume no obligation as to the result of the voting.

that is all i want to say. thank you, mr. president.

**Huang Hua Speaks at UN Security Council
Condemning Portuguese Aggression Against
Guinea, Supporting Guinean People's
Just Struggle**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 30, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china on the u.n. security council, made a speech at the council meeting this morning after hearing a report of the council's special mission to guinea, strongly condemning the aggression committed against the republic of guinea by the portuguese colonialists with the support of other imperialists, and reiterating the chinese people's resolute support for the heroic guinean people in their just struggle for safeguarding national independence and state sovereignty.

huang hua said: "in november 1970, the portuguese colonialists flagrantly sent mercenary troops to launch a sudden attack on the republic of guinea by piratical means, in a vain attempt to subvert the government of the republic of guinea headed by president sekou toure and throw the guinean people again into the dark abyss of colonial rule. the chinese government and people expressed utmost indignation at this naked act of aggression and strongly condemned it."

huang hua continued: "under the command of president

sekou toure, the heroic guinean people, filled with indignation against the enemy, dealt heavy blows at the invaders and victoriously defended their state sovereignty and national independence. the chinese government and people warmly praised the guinean people for their revolutionary spirit of defying brute force, upholding unity and resisting the enemy with concerted efforts and hailed the victories achieved by the guinean people in this struggle against aggression.

"what is particularly worth mentioning is that when the guinean people were subjected to aggression, the great majority of african countries and people, united as one, gave powerful support to the guinean people, thus setting an example for mutual support and assistance among the oppressed people and nations in their struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism."

huang hua pointed out, "although the portuguese colonial authorities ignominiously failed in their armed invasion, the nature of the colonialists and neo-colonialists will not change. they will continue to put up their last-ditch struggles. the facts prove that they have never for a moment ceased to plot aggression against the republic of guinea, and recently they are contriving a new scheme to invade guinea again. this has been irrefutably proved with abundant evidence by the government of the republic of guinea, which has called the attention of the security council to the above scheme, requested that the security council take the necessary measures to prevent the recurrence of large-scale invasions. this request of the guinean government is just, which we firmly support."

huang hua noted, "countless facts prove that the colonialist policies pursued by the portuguese authorities constitute a threat to the sovereignty and security of independent african states, a challenge to the african people's rights to national independence and a grave violation of the spirit of the united nations charter."

huang hua further pointed out: "why should the portuguese colonialists, who are corrupt to the extreme, dare to perpetrate such glaring acts of aggression and are now preparing for military adventures on an even larger scale? this is because they have the support and connivance of other imperialists. it is not difficult to see that their aim is not only to subvert the government of the republic of guinea but also to suppress the national liberation movement which is vigorously developing in africa. therefore, the significance of the guinean people's struggle far exceeds the limits of guinea. the guinean people are not only fighting for the independence and sovereignty of their motherland, but are also fighting for the independence and sovereignty of the african states and are giving support to all the countries of the world that treasure their own independence and sovereignty."

in conclusion, huang hua said: "the guinean people are by no means isolated in their struggle. all justice-upholding people of the world firmly support them; the chinese people firmly support them. victory surely belongs to the guinean people who uphold justice, heighten their vigilance and persevere in the fight exclamation"

**Fu Hao Condemns US--Israeli Aggressors,
Supports Palestinian People's Just
Struggle, in Speech in UN General Assembly
Special Political Committee**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Nov. 30, 1971)

fu hao, representative of the delegation of the people's republic of china, condemned the aggression committed by the israeli zionists against the palestinian and other arab peoples with the support and connivance of u.s. imperialism, in his speech on the palestine question at the special political committee of the united nations general assembly this afternoon. he pointed out that the only effective and fundamental solution to the so-called question of the refugees of palestine lies in the restoration to the palestinian people of their national rights.

fu hao said, "quite a few representatives have stated their views on the question of the refugees of palestine and their relief, expressing their concern for and sympathy with the refugees of palestine. the chinese government and people have always felt as their own the tragic sufferings of the palestinian people who have been subjected to aggression and oppression and made homeless and are facing starvation and death, and the chinese government and people have always given great sympathy and support to them. this is known to all."

fu hao pointed out: "why is it that the people who lived in palestine for generations have become homeless refugees? this is the result of the aggression committed by the israeli zionists against the palestinian and other arab peoples with the support and connivance of u.s. imperialism. herein lies the essence of the so-called question of the refugees of palestine. therefore, only the restoration to the palestinian people of their national rights is the effective and fundamental solution to the so-called question of the refugees of palestine."

fu hao said: "the palestinian representative's speech yesterday afternoon demonstrated the strong will of the palestinian people to fight for their national rights. we express admiration for this."

fu hao stressed that "in the past few years, the palestinian people, holding high the banner of opposing imperialism and zionism, have persevered in armed struggle, overcome numerous difficulties and advanced wave upon wave in their valiant and tenacious struggle against the aggressors. their struggle has become an important component part of the arab national liberation movement and the world people's struggle against imperialism, colonialism and their lackeys. their struggle has won the sympathy and support of all the countries in the world that love peace and uphold justice."

fu hao reiterated: "the chinese government and people have always given unswerving support to the palestinian and other arab peoples in their just struggle against u.s. imperialism and zionism. the chinese people's great leader chairman mao tsetung has pointed out: 'the world is progressing, the future is bright and no one can change this general trend of history.' we are firmly convinced that so long as the palestinian people uphold unity and persevere in struggle, they will certainly win final victory."

Huang Hua Strongly Denounces Indian Aggression on Pakistan in UN Security Council

(NCNA-English United Nation, Dec. 4, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china on the u.n. security council, spoke at the council's urgent meeting this evening, strongly denouncing the indian government's armed aggression on pakistan and gross interference in pakistan's internal affairs, and reaffirming the resolute support of the chinese government and people for pakistan's just struggle against india's military aggression and political subversion.

huang hua said, "of late, the indian government has openly sent troops to invade east pakistan and provoked large-scale armed conflicts, thus aggravating tension in the india-pakistan subcontinent and asia. the chinese government and people express serious concern over this and is closely following the development of the situation.

"1. the question of east pakistan is purely the internal affair of pakistan, in which no one has any right to interfere. it is impermissible for the indian government to commit armed aggression against pakistan by using the question of east pakistan as a pretext.

"2. the indian government asserts that it has sent troops to east pakistan for the purpose of 'self-defence'. this is a sheer gangster logic. the facts show that it is india which has committed aggression against pakistan, and not pakistan which has 'menaced' the security of india. according to the logic of the indian government, anyone can use the pretext of 'self-defence' for invading other countries. in that case, what guarantee is there for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of various countries?

"3. the indian government asserts that the purpose for its sending troops to invade east pakistan is to help the refugees of east pakistan to return to their homeland. this is utterly untenable. at present, there are in india large numbers of so-called 'refugees' from tibet, china; the indian government is also grooming dalai lama, the chieftain of the tibetan counter-revolutionary rebellion. according to the indian government's assertion, are you going to use this also as a basis for aggression against china?

"4. the pakistan government has proposed that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw from the border respectively and disengage and that the question of the refugees of east pakistan be settled through negotiations between the two governments. this is entirely reasonable. however, the indian government has unwarrantably rejected it. this shows that the indian government has no intention at all to settle the question of the refugees of east pakistan, but wants to capitalize on this question as a pretext for further subversion and aggression against pakistan."

he pointed out, "the chinese delegation maintains that according to the united nations charter, the security council should strongly condemn the aggressive acts of the indian government and demand that the indian government immediately and unconditionally withdraw all the indian armed forces from pakistan."

he said, "finally, on behalf of the chinese government, i wish to state that the chinese government and people firmly support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle against indian aggression. here i would like to point out to the security council, the united nations and the people of the world that the indian government's current acts of aggression have been perpetrated with the support of social-imperialism. this is borne out by an abundance of facts. i reserve the right to speak further on this matter."

**Huang Hua Strongly Condemns Soviet Connivance
at, Support for, Shielding of Indian Armed
Aggression on Pakistan in UN Security
Council Meeting**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 5, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china on the united nations security council, reiterated at the continued urgent meeting of the security council this evening to discuss the question of the tension in the indo-pakistan subcontinent caused by india's armed aggression against pakistan, the solemn stand of the chinese government on this question and took the floor several times to give stern rebuffs to the draft resolution put forward by the soviet representative in support of india's aggression and his pack of fallacies aimed at shielding this aggression.

huang hua's speeches exposed the soviet government being the supporter, encourager and protector of india's aggression against pakistan, which, in so doing, has the aim of gaining control over the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean and enlarging its sphere of influence in its contention with the other superpower for hegemony.

speaking on the "proposal" put forward by the soviet representative for inviting a representative of the so-called "bangla desh" to the meeting, huang hua said, "the chinese delegation considers that the question of the so-called "bangla desh mission" raised by the soviet delegation is a question of substance and not a procedural matter. the soviet and indian representatives are singing in a duet, openly trumpeting for the dismemberment of pakistan in a sinister attempt to impose the so-called "bangla desh" they have created upon the united nations. this act of subverting and dismembering a sovereign country runs entirely counter to the u.n. charter and is definitely not permissible."

huang hua pointed out: "in order to dismember pakistan and realize their scheme of so-called independence of east pakistan, the soviet representative came out with the argument based on population statistics at yesterday's meeting. this reminds one of the fact that in order to split china and engineer the so-called taiwan independence, the representative of another superpower put forward at the meeting of the present session a similar argument that china's taiwan province has over ten million population. this is indeed a coincident exclamation this is a true 'duet'."

huang hua said: "we would like to ask the distinguished representative of the soviet union: in 1962, the soviet government engineered a counter-revolutionary rebellion in china's sinkiang province, carrying out subversion and splittist activities against china. the several tens of thousands of chinese civilians who were forcibly taken away by you under coercion still remain in your hands, and you have used some of them for anti-china scheming activities. according to mr. malik's logic with regard to the pakistan refugees, are you going to take it also as a pretext for launching armed aggression against china? are you also going to invite those people to the united nations to justify your subversion and aggression? wang ming, a scum of the chinese nation and renegade to the communist party of china, has all along been reared by you as a treasure and a tool for subversion against china. are you also going to invite him to the united nations? at present, outside your country, there exist quite a few people who are opposing the soviet government and engineering a so-called independence movement. according to your principles, are you also going to agree to invite them to the united nations? we hope to get a reply from the soviet representative."

huang hua made an explanation of the vote he had taken against the soviet draft resolution. he said, "the soviet draft resolution constitutes a direct interference in the internal affairs of a member state. the present armed aggression by the indian government against pakistan is carried out under the connivance, support and shielding of the soviet union. countless facts have proved this.

"over a long period, the soviet government has energetically supported india's expansion and has provided the indian expansionists with large quantities of arms and other war materiel. it has encouraged india in its scheming activities to subvert and dismember pakistan and has at the same time openly exerted all kinds of pressure on the pakistan government. last august, the soviet union and india concluded a so-called treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation which is in fact a treaty of military alliance. with the encouragement of this treaty the indian government has become even more unbridled in carrying out expansion and aggression. not long ago, the indian prime minister visited moscow and held talks with the moscow leaders. it is by no means accidental that since then the indian government has flagrantly sent troops to invade pakistan."

huang hua said, "the soviet representative mr. malik's performance at yesterday's meeting has made it even clearer that the soviet government is the supporter, encourager and protector of the indian aggression against pakistan. reversing right and wrong and confounding black and white, the soviet representative calls india which carries out armed aggression as the victim and instead blames pakistan which is subjected to aggression for the current armed conflict. the indian representative undisguisedly declared that the indian government has taken the dismemberment of pakistan and the disruption of the unity of pakistan as its state policy, and openly slandered the representative of pakistan as representing only west pakistan. the soviet representative has also done his utmost to defend the indian aggressive acts of subverting the pakistan government and disrupting the national unity of pakistan. in the draft resolution he put forward yesterday, the soviet representative went to the length of attacking pakistan for causing the deterioration of the situation,

and to assert that only after the so-called political resolution of the question of east pakistan could the acts of hostility cease. in other words, so long as the pakistan government refuses to agree to the 'independence' of east pakistan, the indian government has the right to continue its subversion and aggression against pakistan. this echoes the open clamour of the indian leaders that the indian troops and armed personnel must not be withdrawn from east pakistan and their demand that pakistan troops withdraw from their own territory east pakistan and that a so-called "bangla desh" be established. this is a naked revelation of the role played by soviet social-imperialism in india's armed aggression against pakistan.

"to put it bluntly, in supporting india to provoke an armed conflict with pakistan, the purpose of the soviet government is to take advantage of india's inevitable dependence on the soviet union in the war to control the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean and expand its sphere of influence so as to contend with another superpower for world hegemony. this is exactly the same tactics it has used on the middle east question."

he further pointed out, "the soviet social-imperialists are carrying out aggression, interference, subversion and expansion everywhere. everyone will recall the soviet military aggression and armed occupation of czechoslovakia in 1968. everyone will equally recall that the soviet government plotted to subvert the legal government of an african country this year, grossly interfering in the internal affairs of that country. there are too many similar instances to be enumerated. the present acts of the soviet government in the indo-pakistan subcontinent are exactly the extension and continuation of that policy. . no matter how hard the soviet representative may justify himself, he cannot write off the facts. the present soviet government is out-and-out social-imperialism. no matter how mr. malik dislikes it, the label is on and cannot be taken off."

huang hua said, "betraying the fundamental interests of the indian people and serving the wild designs of the soviet government for controlling the subcontinent and the indian ocean, the indian government will only eat the bitter fruits of its own making. soviet social-imperialism which supports and connives at indian aggression and expansion will come to no good end either."

huang hua also rebuffed the virulent invectives hurled at china's revolutionary foreign policy by the soviet representative malik. huang hua said, "my statements have hit mr. malik's tender spot. that is why he made such a very preposterous and slanderous speech. but the revolutionary foreign policy of great china can be in no way distorted by a petty mr. malik. mr. malik mentioned the outstanding contribution made by the soviet people in the october revolution and the second world war. the chinese government and the chinese people hold in high esteem the great contribution made by the great soviet people in the october revolution and the second world war. but the blood of both the martyrs in the october revolution and the soviet martyrs in the second world war cannot wash out the crimes committed by the soviet renegades. the glory of the soviet people in history does not add the slightest splendour to the faces of the renegades. this we can clearly see only by drawing a comparison between the revolutionary foreign policy of the soviet union in the past and the social-imperialist policy being pursued by the soviet government today."

"mr. malik made reference to the czechoslovak incident. he even 'regretted' that china did not take part in that act of aggression by social-imperialism. this is day-dreaming. the chinese people, the chinese government and the communist party of china have long sternly condemned the aggressive act of the soviet government against the czechoslovak people. you were not rendering 'aid' to a socialist country. like gangsters you stealthily moved troops into czechoslovakia in deep night, landed airforce and paratroopers at the prague airport and controlled the city. you abducted some of the then czechoslovak leaders to moscow and forced them to accept your humiliating conditions in betrayal of the czechoslovak people. this fully demonstrates the essence of 'lending a friendly hand' so claimed by you social-imperialism.

"the soviet representative had better read over the tass statement today. the soviet government has fixed its security borders on the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean. you say that the incident of indo-pakistan subcontinent directly involves the interests of security of the soviet union. this theory of yours is completely identical with the 'security borders' or security interests which the israeli government tries to impose on the arab countries."

huang hua said, "on the middle east question, you submitted a proposal for cease-fire and troop withdrawal to the u.n. after the outbreak of the israeli aggressive war in 1967. why do you refuse to apply the same principle to the indo-pakistan subcontinent today? this has totally exposed your ambition for aggression and expansion in the indo-pakistan subcontinent. you intend to use delaying tactics to coordinate with the military action of the indian aggression against pakistan in a vain attempt to change the military situation of pakistan in a short period. as certain indian leaders said, they considered that the indian military action against pakistan could be completed in a short period. immediately after the opening of the meeting, you put forward a demand to invite a so-called 'representative of bangla desh' to the meeting of the security council, and repeatedly used it to prevent the progress of the meeting. and then you put forth the sinister draft resolution. in one word, in close coordination with the indian expansionists, you have tried every possible means to realize your ambition to dismember pakistan and control the indo-pakistan subcontinent. otherwise, why did you successively veto two draft resolutions which include provisions for cease-fire and withdrawal of forces?"

**Chinese Representative on UN Security
Council Meeting Submits Draft Resolution
on India's Aggression on Pakistan**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 5, 1971)

huang hua,
permanent representative of the people's republic of
china on the united nations security council, submitted
a draft resolution concerning the tension on indo-
pakistan subcontinent and condemning the indian
government's armed aggression on pakistan when the
security council continued with its urgent meeting today.
the full text of the draft resolution reads:

the security council,

having heard the statements of the representatives
of pakistan and india,

noting in particular that india has launched large-
scale attacks on pakistan, thus gravely undermining
the peace in the indo-pakistan subcontinent,

strongly condemning the indian government's acts
of creating a so-called "bangla desh" and of subverting,
dismembering and committing aggression against pakistan,

calls upon the government of india to withdraw its
armed forces and armed personnel sent by it from pakistan
territory immediately and unconditionally and calls upon
the government of pakistan to withdraw the armed forces
which it has sent into indian territory for counter-
attack,

calls upon india and pakistan to cease hostilities
and to withdraw respectively from the international
border between india and pakistan and to disengage
from each other so as to create conditions for a
peaceful settlement of the disputes between india and
pakistan,

calls upon all states to support the pakistan people
in their just struggle to resist indian aggression,

requests the secretary-general to submit as early
as possible a report to the security council on the
implementation of this resolution.

Chinese Representative Huang Hua Again
Sternly Denounces Soviet, Indian
Representatives for Scheming to Inject
Representatives of "Bangla Desh" into
Security Council Meeting

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 6, 1972)

huang hua,
permanent representative of the people's republic of
china on the united nations security council,
again denounced the soviet and indian representatives
for their scheme to inject the representatives of
the so-called "bangla desh" into the security council
meeting. he made the denunciation in a speech at the
council's urgent meeting this evening to continue
discussion on the tension in the indo-pakistan subcontinent
caused by india's armed aggression against pakistan.
full text of his speech reads: .

mr. president,

at our meeting, the soviet and indian representatives
have repeatedly tried to sell to us their stuff of the
so-called "bangla desh". they wanted us to join them in
inviting to our meeting the representatives of the
so-called "bangla desh" with red-carpet honours. what
kind of thing is the "bangla desh" which the soviet and
indian representatives have lauded so much? i think
it will be useful to recall history in this respect,
for there is no lack of similar instances in history.

in 1931, the japanese militarists launched an undeclared
war against china and occupied the three provinces of
northeast china. subsequently, they declared the
establishment of a puppet government called "manchukuo".
the leader of that government was none other than an
traitor who had been reared over a long period by the
japanese militarists. in so doing, the aim of the
japanese militarists was to split china and perpetuate
their occupation of the three provinces of northeast
china. after its establishment, that puppet government
won the recognition of the japanese militarists, hitler
of germany and mussolini of italy. and what did the
league of nations do about the japanese aggression against
china? under the manipulation of certain powers, the league
of nations tried to curry favour with japanese militarism
at the expense of china's territory and sovereignty,
so as to direct the japanese militarists' spearhead of
aggression to the then soviet union. consequently, the
league of nations did nothing in face of japanese
aggression and let them have their own way. it was
precisely under these circumstances that japanese
militarism further expanded its war of aggression against
china, occupying large expanses of china's territory.
this greatly inflated the japanese imperialists' ambitious
design for world hegemony, and at the same time abetted
the german and italian fascists in their aggression and
expansion in europe. all this finally led to the
outbreak of world war ii. the events thereafter are well
known to everyone present here. world war ii brought
untold disaster and devastation to the people of
various countries.

japanese militarism created the government of a so-
called "puppet government" in china. the german nazis fostered
quiescent governments in europe as well. however, the

development of history is independent of man's will. today where has that so-called "manchukuo" gone? where are those quisling governments? what has happened to their creators? the "grandiose" plans of the japanese militarists, hitlerite and mussolini fascists for world domination went bankrupt. they were severely punished by the people of various countries. these historical facts are perhaps known even to the schoolboys, but the "erudite" mr. malik and indian ambassador seem to be ignorant of them.

now after launching an undeclared war of aggression against pakistan with the incitement and support of the soviet union, the indian expansionists, with the collaboration of the soviet government, created a government of the so-called "bangla desh" for the purpose of dismembering pakistan and perpetually occupying east pakistan. that is a neo-quisling government, a neo-"manchukuo" government. the indian government has already openly declared its recognition of that "government". probably, the soviet government will also declare its recognition of that "government" tomorrow or the day after tomorrow exclamation whether recognition or not, what people have now seen is that not only has the soviet government failed to condemn this neo-quisling government, neo-"manchukuo" government, but the soviet representative has shown most solicitous concern and wanted to invite the representatives of that "government" to the security council as angels and pay homage to the representatives of the so-called "bangla desh" as "heroes" of a national liberation movement and even wanted the others also to take off their hats and salute them.

we should be grateful to the soviet representative mr. malik for teaching us a very good lesson by negative example. he has enabled people to see all the more clearly the renegade features of the soviet leaders who have betrayed marxism-leninism, the great october revolution, the soviet people as well as the people of the whole world.

why are the leaders of the soviet union so interested in the "manchukuo" government, the quisling government of today? a reply was given in the tass statement yesterday, which constitutes a voluntary confession. according to that statement, the "secure boundaries" of the soviet union have all of a sudden been extended to the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean. the aim of the soviet leaders is to gain control over the subcontinent, encircle china and strengthen its position in contending with the other superpower for world hegemony. what the soviet leaders of today are frantically seeking is the establishment of a great empire which the old tsars craved after but were unable to realize, a great empire controlling the whole eurasian continent.

in conclusion, i wish only to address a few words of good intention to mr. malik: please bear in mind the fate of "manchukuo", quislings and their behind-the-scenes boss exclamation

thank you, mr. president.

Chiao Kuan-hua Strongly Condemns India's Aggression on Pakistan Under Soviet Support

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 7, 1971)

Chiao Kuan-hua, chairman of the delegation of the people's republic of china, strongly condemned india, supported and shielded by soviet revisionist social-imperialism, for committing military aggression and political subversion against pakistan. he made the condemnation during an emergency debate at the plenary meeting of the 26th session of the united nations general assembly this evening on the tense situation in the indo-pakistan subcontinent arising from india's armed aggression against pakistan.

Chiao Kuan-hua pointed out that the united nations should not repeat the mistakes of the league of nations, but must resolutely condemn india's aggression, expose the shameless support given by the soviet union to india, and firmly support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle against indian aggression.

the full text of his speech reads:

Mr. president,

india and pakistan are both close neighbours of china. the chinese government and people are seriously concerned over the armed conflict between india and pakistan. the chinese delegation would like to make a few remarks on this question.

1. the indian government is an outright aggressor.

our colleagues here all know well how the war between india and pakistan was started. the indian government has been saying again and again that it was the question of the east pakistan refugees that has put it in a position in which it has no alternative but to send troops to invade pakistan. this is indeed absurd to the extreme. the indian ruling circles had also sometime ago forcibly coerced several tens of thousands of the inhabitants of china's tibet into going to india and set up a so-called government in exile headed by the chinese traitor dalai lama. to agree that the indian government is justified to use the so-called refugee question as a pretext for invading pakistan is tantamount to agreeing that the indian government will be justified to use the question of the so-called "tibetan refugees" as a pretext for invading china. isn't this kind of pretext utterly ridiculous?

supported by a certain big power, the indian government has become most arrogant and rampant. it openly clamours that since pakistan is a neighbour of india, the existence of pakistan troops in east pakistan constitutes in itself a threat to india. this is sheer fascist nonsense. india is also a neighbour of china; does the existence of indian troops in india then constitute a threat to china?

indian ruling circles claim that india is a country that loves democracy, freedom and peace. this can only deceive or hoodwink those who are not familiar with the facts. in the world today, only in india can one find several tens of millions of untouchables. among the new, independent countries in asia and africa, only india has a "protectorate". almost all the neighbours of india have been bullied by it at one time or another.

what kind of democracy is this? what kind of freedom is this? and what kind of peace is this?

india's expansionism has a long history. in his book "the discovery of india", nehru openly proclaimed that the south asian subcontinent and the indian ocean is the sphere of influence of india. for years the indian ruling circles have never given up their ambitious attempt to become a "superpower" or a "semi-superpower". their present aggression against pakistan is the inevitable outcome of the implementation of such an expansionist policy.

2. the soviet government is the boss behind the indian aggressors.

the indian expansionists usually do not have much guts. why have they become so flagrant now? the reason is that a superpower, soviet social-imperialism, is backing them up. as i said earlier, the so-called soviet-indian treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation is in effect a treaty of military alliance. since the conclusion of that treaty, the indian government has become all the more flagrant, carrying out subversion and aggression against pakistan without any scruples. on december 5, tass published a statement which is full of the smell of gun powder. it clamours that the tension between india and pakistan has threatened the so-called interests of the security of the soviet union and that it cannot remain indifferent. this is blackmail and is a menace to china as well as all the neighbouring countries of india and pakistan. distinguished soviet representative, what exactly are you planning to do? you might as well tell us here.

in the security council meetings of december 4, 5, 6, soviet representative mr. malik and the indian representative, echoing each other, insisted on imposing the representatives of the so-called "bangla desh" on the security council. the soviet representative vetoed two draft resolutions which were supported by the majority of council members. he unwarrantably assailed at will all those representatives who differed with him. he openly declared that he would veto all draft resolutions other than his own. this is indeed arrogant and crude to the extreme. i can hardly find the proper words to describe his behaviour.

it is not at all surprising that the soviet leading clique is giving such naked support to the indian aggressors. ever since the soviet leading clique betrayed marxism-leninism and embarked on the road of revisionism, it has been pursuing a policy of social-imperialism. it has carried out everywhere aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. in 1968, it flagrantly sent troops to invade and occupy czechoslovakia. this year, it went so far as to attempt overtly to subvert the legal government of an african country. the facts are well-known to many of our colleagues here. let me put it bluntly. making use of the ambition of the indian expansionists, the soviet leading clique is supporting india's armed aggression against pakistan with the purpose of further controlling india and, as the next step, controlling the whole of the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean in order to contend with another superpower for world hegemony.

3. the united nations should not repeat the mistakes of the league of nations.

the current indo-pakistan situation cannot but remind us of the situation during the thirties. in 1931, the japanese militarists unleashed a war of aggression against china by invading and occupying our three northeastern provinces, and set up a so-called "manchukuo". the german and italian fascists closely coordinated with them by giving "recognition" to that puppet regime. the league of nations which was then under the control of britain, france and other powers did not distinguish between right and wrong, between the aggressor and the victim of aggression and, therefore, became helpless and permitted japan to have its own way in its aggression against china. this was, in effect, an encouragement to aggression. it was in these circumstances that japan further expanded its war of aggression against china, the italian fascists unleashed their war of aggression against ethiopia and hitler germany annexed one european country after another. in the end that led to the outbreak of world war ii and the league of nations collapsed thereafter.

historical lessons merit attention. the united nations is now facing a situation similar to that of the thirties. the flames of the war of aggression against pakistan launched by india are spreading, menacing the peace of asia and the world. the united nations must overcome the obstructions by the soviet union and speedily adopt measures to hold back this dangerous situation. first of all, it must draw a clear line of distinction between the aggressor and the victim of aggression, strongly condemn the aggressor and must give firm support to the victim of aggression. it should not take an ambiguous stand, still less should it abet and shield the aggressor. under the manipulation of the one or two superpowers, the united nations made in the past quite a few mistakes in this respect in contravention of the will of the majority of member states. the united nations must learn from the lessons of history and must in no way embark on the old path of the league of nations.

4. china maintains that the united nations:

- 1) must strongly condemn india's aggression against pakistan and thoroughly expose the shameless support given by the soviet social-imperialists to the indian aggressors;

- 2) must call upon all countries to support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle against indian aggression;

- 3) must call upon the indian government to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from pakistan territory the armed forces and armed personnel sent by it and call upon the pakistan government to withdraw the armed forces which it has sent into indian territory for counter-attack;

- 4) calls upon both india and pakistan to cease fire immediately on the basis of the withdrawal of the armed forces of each side from the territory of the other;

- 5) recommends that the armed forces of the two sides withdraw respectively from the border between india and pakistan and disengage from each other so as to create conditions for a peaceful settlement of the disputes between india and pakistan.

mr. president,

fundamentally speaking, the dispute between india and pakistan is a legacy of the british imperialist rule in the indian subcontinent. the chinese government has consistently held that the new independent afro-asian countries should resolve their disputes in a friendly way through consultation on an equal basis. they must not be taken in by the imperialists. this remains our stand today. should the indian government obstinately cling to its course, it will only eat the bitter fruits of its own making. if the soviet government acts in the same fashion, it will come to no good end either.

that is all i want to say. thank you, mr. president.

Chiao Kuan-hua's Speech on Middle East Question in UN General Assembly

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 8, 1972)

chiao kuan-hua,

chairman of the delegation of the people's republic of china, made a speech on the middle east question which is being discussed, at the plenary meeting of the u.n. general assembly this afternoon, setting forth the principled stand of the chinese government on this question.

full text of his speech reads:

mr. president, fellow representatives;

over a long period, particularly since june 1967, the chinese government and people have followed with concern the struggle of the palestinian and other arab peoples against the aggression committed by israeli zionism with the support of u.s. imperialism and have watched carefully the development of the situation in the middle east.

the essence of the middle east question is the aggression against the palestinian and other arab peoples by the israeli zionists with the support of the u.s. ruling circles. since world war ii, the israeli zionists fostered and groomed by u.s. imperialism, with the support of world reactionary aggressive forces, have repeatedly launched wars of aggression against arab countries. each time they launched a war, they occupied large tracts of arab territory, driving out of their homeland over one million palestinian people who had lived there for generations; making them homeless and destitute. the history of the middle east over the post-war period of two decades and more has been a history of the continuous expansion and aggression by the israeli zionists and a history of the struggle of the palestinian and other arab peoples against expansion and aggression.

under the control and manipulation of the super-powers, the united nations, ignoring the just demands of the palestinian and other arab peoples and the

righteous voice of the people of various countries, has failed to strongly condemn and firmly stop the expansion and aggression by israeli zionism and failed to give due support to the palestinian and other arab peoples; on the contrary, without distinguishing between right and wrong, between aggressor and the victim of aggression, it has adopted a number of resolutions which in effect encouraged aggression and shielded israeli zionism in the name of "maintaining peace". these resolutions are unjust to the arab people and in contravention of the united nations charter. a number of countries which favoured certain resolutions passed by the united nations on the middle east question were solely motivated by their good will for peace. however, even these resolutions have up to now remained empty papers. this is clear to everyone if he just takes a look at the sketch map distributed by the delegation of the arab republic of egypt which indicates the arab territory occupied by israel since 1947. with the support and encouragement of a superpower and with the connivance and acquiescence of another superpower, the israeli zionists launched in 1967 their biggest war of aggression. since then, the israeli zionists have become all the more arrogant and truculent and have assumed the posture of undisguised fascist aggressors. as for the u.s. government, even those united nations resolutions which it favoured are only being utilized to deceive others when these resolutions suit its needs but they are cast away whenever they no longer suit its needs. while talking much about peace, the united states is doing its utmost to arm israel. of late, the u.s. senate has passed a resolution granting israel a loan of 500 million u.s. dollars, half of which will be used for the purchase of "phantom" jet fighters by israel. this is a naked support to aggression and a new provocation to the palestinian and other arab peoples. it is because of the above-mentioned behaviour of the united states and israel that the palestinian people and egypt, syria and other arab countries have up to now failed to achieve any result in all their efforts to recover the lost territory.

the israeli zionists have advanced a theory of so-called "secure boundaries" in order to perpetuate the occupation of the arab territory they have seized. this is a typical excuse for expansionism, a gangster logic. what are "secure boundaries"? according to the logic of the israeli zionists, no boundary of well over a hundred countries in the world will be secure, because the conventional weapons of any country can reach areas within the boundary of a neighbouring country, let alone rockets and nuclear weapons. does it follow then that the boundaries of all neighbouring countries should be changed? obviously, this is absurd. to put it bluntly, by "secure boundaries" the israeli zionists mean that whatever place they invade and occupy, that becomes their boundary. they may consider such boundaries as secure today, but tomorrow they will say that these boundaries are insecure and therefore it will be necessary to embark on further expansion. the chinese people had their own bitter experience in this respect. before world war ii, japanese militarism first invaded and occupied the northeast of china and set up a "manchukuo", but later they claimed they were insecure because of "communist threat" and on that pretext they invaded and occupied north china and launched an all-out war of aggression against the whole country. and in the end they even went so far as to unleash the pacific war. the theory of demanding "secure boundaries"

is a theory of the aggressors. to accept this theory is tantamount to recognizing as legal all the aggression and expansion by israeli zionism.

at present, the one or two superpowers are trying to frighten people by spreading the idea that the palestinian and other arab peoples must not wage armed struggle to resist israeli aggression. they say that any resistance would immediately lead to a world war, and that whoever supports such armed struggle is provoking confrontation between the two superpowers. have we not all heard of such arguments from this rostrum not long ago? exclamation of course this is sheer nonsense. why is it that they did not worry about the danger of a world war when israel launched its war of aggression, but that the resistance to aggression by the palestinian and other arab peoples would become a danger that would lead to a world war? according to their logic, the chinese people should not have waged their war of liberation, the korean people should not have resisted u.s. aggression, and the people of the three countries of indochina should not wage their war against u.s. aggression and for national salvation. according to their logic, no victim of aggression should carry out armed struggle to resist the aggressors. how can such logic stand? it is absolutely just and entirely proper for the palestinian and other arab peoples, who are victims of aggression, to be compelled to take up arms to resist aggression, recover their lost territories and restore their right to national existence. countless facts in the post-war period of the last two decades or more have proved that it is precisely because the people of various countries have continuously waged revolutionary wars against imperialist aggression that the imperialists have not dared lightly to unleash a world war. the united states and another superpower, echoing each other, are doing their utmost to spread the ideas mentioned above in an attempt to frighten people with the danger of a world war. in so doing, their aim is to bind the hands of the palestinian and other arab peoples and to prevent them from waging just struggles, so that the two superpowers can manipulate the situation and achieve their ulterior purpose.

one can see ever more clearly from the development of the middle east situation that the two superpowers are contending and colluding with each other there. they are taking advantage of the temporary difficulties facing the palestinian and other arab peoples to make dirty political deals in their contention for important strategic points and oil resources and the division of spheres of influence in the middle east at the expense of the national rights and territorial integrity and sovereignty of the palestinian and other arab peoples. herein lies the crux of the matter and that is why the middle east question has remained unsolved over such a long period.

it is well-known that the israeli zionists who are obsessed with ambitious designs cannot exist without the support of u.s. imperialism. we are not opposed to the jewish people or the people of israel, but we are firmly opposed to the zionist policies of expansion and aggression. we have never recognized israel, nor have had any contact with it since the founding of the people's republic of china. we hold that all the countries and people that love peace and uphold justice have the obligation to support the palestinian and other arab peoples in their struggle to restore their right to national existence and recover

their occupied land, and that no one has the right to make political deals behind their backs at the expense of their right to national existence and their territorial integrity and sovereignty. the chinese government and people always stand on the side of the palestinian and other arab peoples who are subjected to aggression, firmly support their just struggles and give them assistance within the limits of our capability. this principled stand of ours is firm and unshakable.

the imperialists are paper tigers, the superpowers are also paper tigers. in appearance they are fierce and powerful, but in reality they are not so frightening. so long as the people who are subjected to aggression fear no pressure and blackmail, refuse to be deceived and are determined to take up arms, persevere in struggle and uphold unity, they are fully capable of defeating all imperialist aggressors. is not the post-war history of the last two decades or more full of such instances?

we call upon the governments and peoples of all countries to strongly condemn the aggression by the israeli zionists, strongly condemn u.s. imperialism which supports their aggression, and strongly condemn the reactionary forces in jordan for their sanguinary repression of the palestinian people.

we maintain that

the israeli zionist aggressors must withdraw from the egyptian, syrian and all other arab territories they have occupied.

the legitimate rights of the palestinian people to national existence and to return to their homeland must be restored.

we firmly support the palestinian, egyptian, syrian and other arab peoples in their just struggle to restore their national rights and recover their lost territories.

the destiny of the palestinian and other arab peoples must be decided by themselves; their affairs must be handled by themselves. we oppose all conspiratorial activities of aggression, subversion, control and interference carried out by any superpower against the arab countries and people.

the aggression by u.s. imperialism and israeli zionism has educated the broad masses of the arab people by negative example, heightened their political consciousness and enabled them gradually to see who are their enemies and who are their friends, who are their true friends and who are their false friends. at present, from the persian gulf in the east to the atlantic coast in the west, the 100 million and more arab people are in the midst of an upsurge of the anti-imperialist struggle. the afro-asian people and the peoples of the world stand on the side of the palestinian and other arab peoples. we are deeply convinced that carrying on protracted struggle and upholding unity against imperialism, the heroic arab people who have an ancient civilization and the spirit of resistance will surely overcome numerous difficulties on their road of advance and win continuous new victories.

that is all i want to say. thank you, mr. president.

**Chinese Deputy Representative on UN
Security Council Denounces Southern
Rhodesia's Colonialist Rule**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 8, 1971)

chen chu,
deputy representative of the people's republic of china
on the united nations security council, today strongly
denounced the colonialist authorities of southern
rhodesia for suppressing the struggle of the people of
zimbabwe for national independence. he made the
denunciation at a security council meeting this
afternoon to discuss the southern rhodesian question.

in his speech chen chu pointed out that the so-called
proposal for the settlement of the question of southern
rhodesia, contrived by britain in collaboration with
the ian smith colonialist regime, is a fraud. he
reiterated the chinese government and people's firm
support for the just struggle of the people of zimbabwe.

chen chu said, "the essence of the question of southern
rhodesia is the zimbabwe people's fight against foreign
colonialist rule and for national independence.

"on november 11, 1965, the colonialist authorities
of southern rhodesia, with the connivance and support
of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and
in defiance of the firm opposition of the people of
zimbabwe and the rest of africa, flagrantly declared
the so-called independence of southern rhodesia. since
then, the colonialist authorities of southern rhodesia
have become even more unbridled in enforcing their
fascist rule of the south african type over the people
of zimbabwe and have intensified their suppression
of the struggle of the people of zimbabwe for national
independence. furthermore, the colonialist authorities
of southern rhodesia have stepped up their military,
political and economic collusion with the south african
and portuguese colonialists in carrying out threats and
plotting various schemes of subversion and aggression
against african countries, posing a grave menace to
the independent african states and people."

he pointed out, "the british government should be
held responsible for the question of southern rhodesia.
the british government has all along obstinately
rejected the zimbabwe people's demand for independence
on the racist pretext that the people of zimbabwe have
not undergone the 'training for self-government'.
furthermore, the british government has collaborated
with the ian smith colonialist authorities in contriving
behind the back of the people of zimbabwe and the rest
of africa a so-called proposal for the settlement of
the question of southern rhodesia, which they attempt
to impose on the people of zimbabwe. flaunting the
signboard of 'the majority rule by the africans', this
proposal is in fact a big fraud."

he emphasized, "as a result of the prolonged brutal
rule and plunder by the foreign colonialists, the
people of zimbabwe are poor and backward economically.
the experience of the afro-asian countries proves that
without political independence, it is impossible to
achieve independence in the economic field. as long as
colonialist rule and plunder exist, development of
national economy is impossible. in these circumstances,

how many people in zimbabwe can possibly meet the economic and educational qualifications as stipulated in the 'proposal'? how can one expect the people of zimbabwe who are being oppressed and plundered reach the same level as the colonialists in the economic field? this is indeed a mockery of the common sense. therefore, 'the majority rule by the africans' referred to in the proposal is but a mirage which can never be realized. small wonder that ian smith should say with certainty after the publication of this proposal: 'no european need harbour any anxiety about the security of his future in rhodesia.'

he notes, "then, what after all, is this proposal aimed at? after the southern rhodesian colonialist authorities have revised the constitution in accordance with this proposal which cannot possibly be realized, britain will 'confer independence on rhodesia as a republic' and 'will also terminate their economic and other sanctions'. that is the essence of the question exclamation in other words, it is aimed at legalizing the fascist and racist rule over the zimbabwe people by the ian smith colonialists, and openly cancelling the 'sanctions' against the colonialist authorities of southern rhodesia by the british, u.s. and other colonialists, old and new. in this way southern rhodesia will be made another south africa, a hatchetman assisting the colonialists and neo-colonialists in carrying out aggression, suppression and plunder against the independent african countries and peoples."

in conclusion, chen chu said, "the only solution to the question of southern rhodesia is the realization of the national independence of the zimbabwe people; the chinese government and people totally reject this fraud devised by the british government and the colonialist authorities of southern rhodesia and firmly support the zimbabwe people and other african countries and peoples in their just struggle against the colonialist rule in southern rhodesia and for national independence. the zimbabwe people are a great and staunch people. their struggle against colonialist rule will surely win the support of all the countries and peoples in the world that love peace and uphold justice. we are deeply convinced that the zimbabwe people, strengthening their national unity and persevering in a protracted struggle, will surely overthrow the colonialist rule and win national independence and freedom."

**Chen Chu Reaffirms China's Principled
Stand on Complete Prohibition, Thorough
Destruction on Nuclear Weapons**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 9, 1971)

chen chu, representative of the delegation of the people's republic of china, this morning reaffirmed china's principled position on the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons in a speech at the first (political) committee of the current u.n. general assembly session.

he pointed out at a first committee meeting called to discuss the question of halting nuclear tests that the prohibition of nuclear tests, if not linked with the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, can only serve to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of the two superpowers, lead to a growth in their nuclear threat and blackmail and increase the danger of a nuclear war. the full text of his speech reads:

mr. president, fellow representatives,

in his recent statements at the general assembly, the chairman of the chinese delegation has already comprehensively expounded the basic position of the chinese government on the question of disarmament and nuclear weapons. i would like to make a few remarks on the draft resolution concerning the halting of nuclear tests.

the chinese government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. as early as july 31, 1963, the chinese government issued a statement advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing that a summit conference of all countries in the world be convened to discuss that problem.

we sincerely hope that an early agreement on this matter can be reached. however, china cannot give up necessary self-defence before the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons is realized. my country is compelled to develop nuclear weapons because she is under the nuclear threat of the two superpowers. china's necessary and limited nuclear tests are conducted entirely for the purpose of self-defence, for breaking the nuclear monopoly of the superpowers and finally eliminating nuclear weapons. the chinese government has repeatedly made solemn declarations to the whole world since its first nuclear explosion, stating that at no time and under no circumstances will china be the first to use nuclear weapons. we always mean what we say.

the two superpowers have been working on their nuclear weapons for decades. they have conducted innumerable nuclear tests of all kinds and their nuclear arsenals have swollen immensely. in these circumstances, the partial or complete halting of nuclear tests will not inhibit the continuation of their production and use of nuclear weapons. therefore, the prohibition of nuclear tests will be of no positive significance if not linked with the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. it can only serve to consolidate the superpowers' nuclear monopoly, deprive the other countries of their just rights to develop nuclear weapons and resist nuclear threats posed by the superpowers. it can only spread a false feeling of security and weaken the struggle of the people of all countries for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. the world cannot gain peace and security from the prohibition of nuclear tests which, on the contrary, can only increase the nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail of the two superpowers and increase the danger of a nuclear war.

in the past, the so-called "partial nuclear test ban treaty" and "treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" concocted by the two superpowers have already been proved to be big frauds aimed at fooling the people of the world. although some countries have favoured the

complete prohibition of nuclear testing out of good intentions, certain countries will surely turn it into a means for lulling and deceiving the people of the world. because of this, the chinese delegation will under present circumstances oppose the adoption of the draft resolution on the so-called prohibition of nuclear tests.

i hereby reaffirm that the chinese government and people, will as always, continue to make common efforts together with the people of the world and all countries that love peace and uphold justice for the attainment of the noble goal of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

**Chen Chu Reiterates China's Stand on Nuclear
Disarmament at UN General Assembly First
Committee Meeting**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 10, 1971)

the first committee (political committee) of the united nations general assembly discussed a draft resolution put forward by bolivia and 16 other latin american countries at a meeting this morning. the draft resolution urges all the nuclear countries to sign and ratify an additional protocol of the treaty for the prohibition of nuclear weapons in latin america. chen chu, representative of the chinese delegation, in his speech at the meeting stated the principled stand of the chinese government on this question.

chen chu said, "1. the chinese government's stand on the question of nuclear weapons has always been clear. the chinese government has consistently stood for complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and has proposed the convocation of a summit conference of all countries to discuss this matter.

"2. the chinese government holds that the demand that many medium and small countries have put forward for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones in order to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war is just. china has no soldier stationed abroad, no military bases on foreign soil and has done nothing harmful to other countries. the chinese government declared to the world, before the signing of the treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons in latin america, that at no time and in no circumstances will china be the first to use nuclear weapons. this principled stand and solemn statement of the chinese government constitute the best support to the good wishes of many countries for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones.

"3. the chinese delegation wishes to point out that at present, the two superpowers have not only produced and stockpiled large quantities of nuclear weapons in their own countries, but also established nuclear bases on the territories of other countries. their planes carrying nuclear weapons fly in the air space of

other countries and their warships carrying nuclear weapons ply in the oceans all over the world. therefore, to really free the nuclear-free zones and peace zones from the threat of a nuclear war, it is necessary first of all for all the nuclear countries, particularly the two nuclear superpowers, to guarantee not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, to dismantle all their nuclear bases on the territories of other countries, not to stockpile nuclear weapons and station nuclear-armed troops on the territories of other countries and immediately stop their aggression, interference, control and subversion against other countries. otherwise there will be no guarantee at all for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones.

"4. basing itself on the above views, the chinese delegation will not take part in the voting on this draft resolution. but we would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm that the chinese people will, as always, continue to work together with the people of various countries, persevere in the struggle and strive for the realization of the noble goal of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons throughout the world. the present difficulties obstructing the establishment of nuclear-free zones or peace zones in various parts of the world do not come from the chinese side."

**Chen Chu Expounds China's Principled Stand
in Supporting "Declaration of Indian Ocean
as Peace Zone"**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 10, 1971)

chen chu, representative of the chinese delegation, expounded the principled stand of the chinese government with regard to the declaration of the indian ocean as a peace zone at a meeting of the first committee (political committee) of the united nations general assembly this afternoon. he made clear china's stand in a speech on a draft resolution put forward by ceylon and 12 other countries on the declaration of the indian ocean as a peace zone at the meeting which discussed the question of disarmament.

in his speech chen chu pointed out that at present, the peace in the indian ocean region is being seriously undermined. with the abetment and support of the soviet union, india has launched a large-scale armed aggression against pakistan. such flagrant acts of aggression must be severely condemned. he pointed out that india is hypocritically assuming "peace-loving" gestures and it is essential to tear away india's mask. he further pointed out that the soviet union, the united states, britain and india must undertake obligations. otherwise, the peace and security in the indian ocean will have no guarantee at all.

chen chu said, "the draft resolution on the declaration of the indian ocean as a peace zone reflects the urgent desire of many afro-asian countries to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and reflects

their just demand to oppose the superpowers' contention for hegemony and division of spheres of influence in the indian ocean. in this sense, the chinese delegation supports this draft resolution in principle."

chen chu continued, "1. at present, the peace in the indian ocean region is being seriously undermined. with the abetment and support of the soviet union, india has launched a large-scale armed aggression against pakistan with the aim of serving the soviet union in its contention with another superpower for hegemony over the indian ocean and the indo-pakistan subcontinent. such flagrant acts of aggression must be severely condemned, firm support must be given to the pakistan people's heroic resistance, aggression must be repulsed and peace must be restored. otherwise, there can be no talk at all about the establishment of the indian ocean as a zone of peace.

"2. while launching and expanding its war of aggression, india is hypocritically assuming 'peace-loving' gestures and declares itself as one of the co-sponsors for the draft resolution on the declaration of the indian ocean as a peace zone. this is a sheer sinister double-dealing in which india is trying to deceive the world under the camouflage of an international agreement, thus gravely undermining the seriousness of the draft resolution. therefore, we deem it essential to tear away india's mask when this draft resolution is adopted. india has no qualification at all to be a co-sponsor unless it ceases its acts of aggression.

"3. the chinese government's statement that at no time and in no circumstances will china be the first to use nuclear weapons and its consistent stand for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war are clear to all. china has not stationed a single soldier abroad, it has no military bases on foreign soil and has done nothing harmful to other countries. china will never be a superpower carrying out aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying against other countries, neither today nor ever in the future. the obligations china has undertaken far exceed what the draft resolution calls upon the countries concerned to do. the question now is that the soviet union, the united states, britain and india which have close relations with the indian ocean must undertake obligations. otherwise the root cause of aggression and threat to the indian ocean and the indo-pakistan subcontinent will still remain and the peace and security in this area will have no guarantee at all. this draft resolution has failed to explicitly point this out. this is a defect.

"4. the chinese delegation hopes that the report which the secretary-general will submit to the 27th session of the u.n. general assembly will conform to the basic requirements laid down in the declaration of the indian ocean as a peace zone."

after making the above statement and reservation on behalf of the chinese delegation, chen chu voted in favour of this draft resolution.

**Chen Chu Explains at Security Council China's
Stand on Question of Stationing in Cyprus
of United Nations Force**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 13, 1971)

the u.n.
security council in a resolution adopted this morning decided to extend the stationing of "the united nations peace-keeping force" in cyprus for another six months.

china did not take part in the voting. chen chu, representative of the chinese delegation, made a short statement explaining china's stand on this issue.

chen chu said: "with regard to the cyprus question, the chinese delegation is of the opinion that fundamentally speaking this is a question left over by imperialist colonial rule. we have consistently maintained that questions of this nature should be settled in a reasonable way by the countries concerned through consultation on an equal footing. as for the question of the united nations forces, the chinese government has always had its own principled stand. this is well known to all the representatives. therefore, we could not participate in the voting of this resolution.

"we support the cyprus people in safeguarding their national independence and sovereignty and hope that the two communities of the greek and turkish peoples will live together in peace on the basis of equality."

cyprus, situated in the east mediterranean, declared its independence in 1960 after shaking off british colonial rule. the majority of the inhabitants on the island are greek and turkish. in late 1963 and 1964, armed clash broke out between greek and turkish cypriots, which led to tension in the relations among greece, turkey and cyprus. in march 1964, the security council adopted a resolution and a "united nations peace-keeping force" was dispatched there for intervention. it was originally decided that this force would station in cyprus for three months, but the time limit was extended repeatedly.

**Huang Hua Again Condemns Soviet Support
to Indian Dismemberment of Pakistan
at UN Security Council**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 15, 1971)

the u.n.
security council met again today to continue the discussion of the tension in the south asian subcontinent caused by indian aggression against pakistan. speaking at the meeting this evening, chinese permanent representative on the security council huang hua strongly condemned the criminal activities of the soviet representative in abusing the veto power at the security council, disregarding the resolution of the u.n. general assembly and continuously supporting the indian expansionists' interference in and dismemberment of pakistan. he pointed out that in acting so truculently, the soviet

revisionist leading clique will only accelerate the doom of the new tsars who stop at nothing in doing evils. the full text of huang hua's speech reads:

mr. president,

at the meetings of the security council and the general assembly, the chinese delegation has repeatedly stated the views of the chinese government on the current situation of the indo-pakistan subcontinent. the armed conflict between india and pakistan is in essence the struggle of interference and counter-interference, subversion and counter-subversion, aggression and counter-aggression between the indian expansionists and the pakistan government and people.

with the support of the soviet government, the indian government has openly committed aggression against pakistan and thus seriously wrecked the peace on the indo-pakistan subcontinent. in order to achieve a peaceful settlement of the issue between india and pakistan; the essential prerequisite is an immediate cease-fire by india and pakistan and the withdrawal of their respective armed forces to their own territories. this is common sense. at the meetings of the security council, the soviet representative went so far as to unreasonably veto two draft resolutions which contain such provisions. the problem was then referred from the security council to the general assembly, and 104 countries are in favour of the resolution calling for cease-fire and troop withdrawal. however, at the security council meeting of december 13, the soviet representative again unreasonably vetoed the draft resolution the content of which conforms to the will of the 104 countries.

this is the first time that the chinese delegation takes part in the work of the united nations. the soviet representative has three times flagrantly abused the veto power in disregard of all consequences with the obvious aim of marking time so as to shield india in its occupation of east pakistan. we are deeply shocked by such things, which we did not expect when we first took part in the work of the united nations. this cannot but make people think: how can a superpower defy the opinion of well over a hundred countries and behave so arrogantly and truculently? this cannot but make people think: how can a superpower, which is giving such undisguised support to indian aggression against pakistan, truly and really help the arab people in the middle east in opposing the aggression committed by the israeli zionists with the support of u.s. imperialism? this cannot but make people think: since a superpower can give such undisguised abetment and support to a country in interfering in the internal affairs of another country and violating its territorial integrity, then how many countries in the world can possibly be exempt from the present sufferings of pakistan?

in his speech of december 13, the soviet representative attacked the leaders of china with slanderous language, accusing china as attempting to exploit the india-pakistan situation for expansion. this indeed is not worth refuting. the facts speak louder than words. china has no military bases and not a single soldier on foreign soil. who committed armed invasion and occupation of czechoslovakia? who has stationed large numbers of armed forces on foreign soil? who is establishing military bases everywhere? who is controlling his own allies? who has been subverting the legal governments of afro-asian countries? is it not

the soviet revisionist renegade clique which has betrayed marxism-leninism, betrayed the soviet people and the people of the whole world?

here i deem it necessary to mention the polish draft resolution. that is a draft resolution to dismember pakistan and legalize the dismemberment. this is a draft resolution to involve the security council directly in the dismemberment of pakistan. china firmly opposes this draft resolution. this draft resolution certainly cannot represent the polish people, because they cannot possibly forget the sad history of their own motherland which was partitioned on many occasions, nor can they forget the unpleasantness of poland today. to put it bluntly, this is not a polish draft resolution but a soviet draft resolution.

during the debate, britain and france assumed an attitude which is seemingly impartial but fails to distinguish between the right and wrong on the major question concerning the soviet government's support to indian aggression and dismemberment of pakistan. this has inflated the aggressors' arrogance of the soviet union and india. this reminds us of the league of nations during the thirties. the united nations is now standing on the crossroads of history. whither the united nations? -- this is a question which gives much food for deep thought by all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice.

in defiance of world opinion and in disregard of all consequences, the soviet leading clique is abetting, encouraging and supporting india in its aggression against pakistan. its purpose is to make use of the wild ambition of the indian expansionists to control the indo-pakistan subcontinent and the indian ocean and to gain superiority on the subcontinent as a flanking movement to affect the situation in the middle east, to strengthen its position in its confrontation with the other superpower in the middle east and other parts of the world and to wage an even fiercer struggle for world hegemony with the other superpower.

but the soviet revisionist social-imperialists and the indian expansionists should not become overjoyed too early. the question is far from being finished. the indian ruling clique has let a wolf into its own house, and the indian people will be the first to suffer. it will not be too long before india itself will suffer the grave consequences of dismembering another country. in acting so truculently, the soviet leading clique will only enable the afro-asian people and the people of the whole world to see ever more clearly its true features of social-imperialism and further raise their political consciousness, and thus it will only accelerate the doom of the new tsars who stop at nothing in doing evils.

china is following with deep and great concern the development of the india-pakistan situation. no matter what happens in the indo-pakistan subcontinent, the chinese government and people will firmly support the pakistan government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of national independence and unity. we are deeply convinced that no matter how many difficulties and twists and turns may still occur, the pakistan people persevering in the struggle will surely win final victory.

the chinese delegation has consistently held that the united nations and the security council must respect the

sovereignty, independence, national unity and territorial integrity of pakistan. in order to put a quick end to indian aggression, the chinese delegation will not oppose a draft resolution calling for immediate cease-fire by india and pakistan followed by the withdrawal of their troops from the territory of the other side. but the draft resolutions now under consultation have failed to reflect the just will of the one hundred and four countries of the plenary meeting of the general assembly; on the contrary, they contain provisions which seriously contravene the principles of the united nations charter and are partial to the aggressors. the chinese delegation is most dissatisfied with all this. the chinese delegation declares that should any draft resolution contain provisions which interfere in the internal affairs of pakistan, disrupt the national unity of pakistan and support the puppet regime, the so-called "bangla desh", china will have no part in it.

thank you, mr. president.

UN General Assembly Concludes Debate on Disarmament Conference

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 16, 1972)

the plenary meeting of the 26th session of the u.n. general assembly this afternoon concluded its debate on the soviet proposal for the convening of a world disarmament conference. vice-chairman of the chinese delegation huang hua reaffirmed at the meeting that the united states and the soviet union, which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons, should issue statements openly undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and to dismantle all bases and nuclear weapons abroad. he also expressed the chinese delegation's support for the draft resolution put forward by 27 countries including romania and mexico. albanian representative sami baholli in his speech again exposed the frantic nuclear arms drive of the two superpowers, the u.s. and the soviet union, and condemned the crimes committed by u.s. imperialism against the indochinese peoples and those committed by the soviet union against the pakistan people. the general assembly adopted the 27-nation draft resolution, thus frustrating the soviet proposal.

the plenary meeting formally discussed this afternoon the draft resolution submitted by 27 states: romania, mexico, algeria, austria, bulgaria, ceylon, chile, the people's republic of the congo, cyprus, ecuador, egypt, ethiopia, guinea, hungary, indonesia, iraq, malaysia, mali, morocco, nepal, peru, poland, rwanda, somalia, syrian arab republic, the united arab emirates and yugoslavia.

the resolution invites all states to communicate to the u.n. secretary-general before august 31, 1972, their views and suggestions on any relevant questions relating to a world disarmament conference, such as the "main objectives, provisional agenda, site favoured, date and contemplated duration, procedures to be adopted for carrying out the preparatory work, relationship to the united nations", etc. it requests the secretary-

general to submit a report to the general assembly at its 27th session, and decides to include in the provisional agenda of the 27th session an item entitled "world disarmament conference". the resolution forms a contrast to the soviet proposal which neither sets out a clear aim nor puts forward practical steps, but calls for rash action and convocation as early as possible of a so-called world disarmament conference.

addressing the meeting, vice-chairman of the chinese delegation huang hua said, "at the meeting of the general assembly, the chinese delegation already stated the basic stand of the chinese government on the question of disarmament. china has always been in favour of disarmament. as early as in 1963, the chinese government proposed the convocation of a conference of heads of government of all countries of the world to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. we maintain that the purpose for convening a world disarmament conference is to be truly conducive to nuclear disarmament and not to deceive people with high-sounding words. particularly today when the u.s. government is continuing its aggression against viet nam and is giving continued support to the israeli zionists in their forcible occupation of the arab territories and when the soviet government is supporting the indian expansionists in their aggression against pakistan, it is all the more impermissible to use the empty slogan of convocation of a world disarmament conference to deceive the world people. therefore, necessary prerequisites must be created for the convocation of such a conference, i.e., the united states and the soviet union which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons should first issue statements separately or jointly to undertake openly the obligations:

1. not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances, and not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and against non-nuclear zones;

2. dismantle all nuclear bases set up on the territories of other countries and withdraw all their nuclear armed forces and all nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad."

this is because, he stressed, "it is none other than these two superpowers that are obdurately pushing the policies of nuclear monopoly, nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. the world disarmament conference should in no way be convened under the nuclear threat of the superpowers. in order to make such a conference fruitful, the above prerequisites are, therefore, essential.

"basing itself on the above understanding, the chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution put forward by romania, mexico and other countries."

albanian representative sami baholli in his speech stressed, "we fully understand and share with the peace-loving member states their legitimate concern about the large-scale arms race of the imperialist powers, and consequently we understand their sincere desire to find a solution to the problem of disarmament. however, we hold that the initiators of the question we are discussing did not proceed from the positions of safeguarding the interests of the people and of peace, but have simply

taken a new propaganda and demagogic step to mislead the peoples."

he pointed out, "the two superpowers have continuously augmented the arsenals of nuclear weapons and intensified nuclear tests and nuclear blackmail. the united states is continuing its imperialist aggression against the heroic vietnamese people and have extended the imperialist aggression to cambodia and laos. it continues to maintain and reinforce its hundreds of military bases on foreign territory throughout the world. likewise, after its ignoble undertakings in czechoslovakia, the revisionist soviet union has further augmented its military potential in its many military bases outside its territory. the two superpowers are the cause of the grave tension and of the existing danger to world peace.

"nobody believes any more the fine words of the soviet revisionists about disarmament, who are shouting for disarmament while playing a despicable principal role in the barbarous aggression against the pakistan people. ~~it is precisely the soviet tanks, guns and aircraft that~~ put the freedom-loving pakistan people to fire and sword."

baholli said, "the events on the indo-pakistan subcontinent have once again revealed the arms merchants, the soviet social-imperialists, as the sworn enemies of the peoples and the irreconcilable adversaries of disarmament."

baholli said in conclusion, "in face of the frantic arms race of the two superpowers and their unscrupulous preparations for aggressive wars, every peace-loving country has the right and the duty to its people to strengthen its defence power in order to safeguard its independence and state sovereignty. undoubtedly, the problem of international peace and security will be resolved with the participation of the peoples of the world through their inflexible struggle against imperialism."

the representatives of some other countries also spoke at the meeting.

after the speeches, the meeting adopted amidst ovation the 27-nation draft resolution and the soviet union had to withdraw its proposal. this wound up the debate on the "soviet proposal for convening a world disarmament conference".

Huang Hua Makes Explanatory Speech on Voting for Resolution of Somalia and Other Countries on Indian-Pakistan Situation

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 21, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of china on the u.n. security council, made an explanatory speech at a meeting late this evening on his voting for a draft resolution on the indian-pakistan situation submitted by somalia and five other countries. the full text of his speech follows:

mr. president,

the chinese delegation has just voted in favour of the draft resolution. however, we are highly dissatisfied with this resolution. it has failed to draw a line of distinction between right and wrong and failed to point out who is the aggressor and who is the victim of aggression. it does not contain a single word of condemnation of the open aggression against and dismemberment of a sovereign state by the indian expansionists with the support of the soviet government.

in the past two weeks and more, the security council has remained helpless and unable to act in face of the indian expansionists' aggression against and trampling upon pakistan. this is a big mockery of the security council.

at present, the social-imperialists and indian expansionists are overjoyed at their so-called "successes". they fancy that they can be immune from resistance and punishment when they subject under broad daylight a sovereign state to wilful aggression and dismemberment. however, it is too early for them to become elated exclamation the fall of dacca is by no means a so-called "milestone" of victory for the indian aggressors, but a starting point from which they are heading towards defeat. the military occupation of east pakistan will lead to greater upheaval and intranquility in the south asian subcontinent. the pakistan people will not cease their heroic resistance. nor will the indian people be driven about like sheep by the social-imperialists and indian expansionists. the people of the world will not pardon the monstrous crimes they have committed against the pakistan people. they will surely eat the bitter fruits of their own making and will be censured by history.

the chinese government and people have consistently opposed aggression, subversion and interference by the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists against other countries and firmly supported the people of all countries in defence of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity. the chinese government and people firmly support the pakistan people in their just struggle against aggression, subversion and dismemberment. we are convinced that no matter what difficulties and hazards may occur, final victory will belong to the great pakistan people so long as they persevere in unity and struggle.

thank you, mr. president. |

**Huang Hua Condemns British, US Governments
at UN Security Council for Supporting
Fascist Rule in Rhodesia**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Dec. 30, 1971)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china to the u.n. security council, scathingly condemned the ian smith racist regime of rhodesia for practising an extreme fascist rule and a barbarous policy of racial discrimination against the zimbabwe people, with the support and connivance of britain. he also condemned the smith regime for colluding with the south african and portuguese colonialist authorities in jointly suppressing the national liberation movement of the people of southern africa.

huang hua made the condemnation in a speech at the security council meeting on rhodesia this evening. he also pointed out that the british government has received the support of the u.s. government in blatantly shielding the reactionary authorities of rhodesia, and this has once again revealed the u.s. imperialist features before the world people.

huang hua's speech reads in full as follows:

mr. president,

during the discussions on the question of southern rhodesia in the security council meeting of december 8, 1971, the chinese delegation already stated the chinese government's position on this question. now i would like to add the following remarks in connection with the draft resolution submitted by the representative of somalia:

1. it should be pointed out that the racist regime of ian smith is in itself a direct product of the british colonialist policy. back in 1923, when the british colonialist authorities declared the so-called "internal self-government" in southern rhodesia, it concentrated all power in the hands of the minority white racists of southern rhodesia. after world war ii, the storm of the struggle for national liberation has swept the whole of africa. in order to preserve its colonial interests in central and southern africa, british imperialism rigged up in 1953 a so-called "federation of central africa" with the white colonialists as the main body. it devised a "new constitution" for southern rhodesia, which provides in explicit terms for white minority rule and deprivation of the political rights of the zimbabwe people. however, these tactics have failed one after another. with the disintegration of the "federation of central africa" in 1963 and the mounting struggle of the zimbabwe people for national independence and liberation, the colonial interests of british imperialism in southern rhodesia have been jeopardized. in these circumstances, the white racists headed by ian smith, with the connivance and support of britain, declared their so-called "independence" on november 11, 1965. the british government sanctimoniously indicated their readiness to impose "sanctions" on them, but in fact it is giving direct military, political and economic

support to them in many respects through the south african racist and portuguese colonialist regimes. such double dealings of sham sanctions and genuine support employed by the british government have long been seen through by the african people and the people throughout the world.

2. the recent "agreement" between the british government and the racist regime in rhodesia on what they call ending their dispute on the question of the "independence" of rhodesia is a new fraud played by the british government and the reactionary authorities of southern rhodesia as well as a big revelation of the hypocritical features of british imperialism. under this "agreement" britain will have a free hand in recognizing the "independence" of rhodesia under the camouflage of the so-called "final" realization of "majority rule" and thus donning a legal mantle on the notorious white racist regime of ian smith, and britain even tries to make the united nations annul its resolution on imposing sanctions against the smith regime.

internally, the racist regime in rhodesia headed by ian smith has been practising an extreme fascist rule and a barbarous policy of racial discrimination, depriving the african people, who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population, of all their political rights; externally, it colluded with the south african white colonialist regime and the portuguese colonial rulers in jointly repressing the national liberation movement of the people of southern africa. it is a criminal tool for the colonialists and neo-colonialists in opposing the people of zimbabwe and the rest of africa.

not long ago, the british government openly resumed its selling of arms to south africa in defiance of the opposition of the people of africa and the world as well as the u.n. resolution on sanctions. furthermore, the british government has now openly reached a so-called "agreement" with the reactionary authorities in southern rhodesia. this is a new step taken by the british government to preserve its colonial interests in southern africa and to support the white racist regime in rhodesia, as well as a grave provocation to the 5 million african people of zimbabwe and the people of other african countries.

3. it must also be pointed out that the british government has received the support of the united states government in its act of blatantly shielding the reactionary authorities of rhodesia. no long ago, in disregard of the opposition of the overwhelming majority of states members in the united nations, the united states government has openly approved of the decree to import chrome from rhodesia. and the u.s. state department expressed its satisfaction immediately upon the release of the news about the "agreement" reached in the talks between the british government and the colonialist authorities in rhodesia. in giving such a hasty support to britain, the u.s. government has once again revealed its imperialist features before the world people.

4. the fraud played by the british government and the reactionary authorities in southern rhodesia is like a rock they have lifted only to drop it on their own feet. where there is oppression, there is resistance. the national independence of the zimbabwe people will never come from the "favours" of british imperialism, nor from the so-called "constitutional reform" by the

smith white racist regime. it can only rely on the unity and struggle of the zimbabwe people. therefore, no matter how obdurate the british government and the smith regime may be, whether or not the united nations can earnestly safeguard the principles of its charter and whether or not it can give support to the just struggle of the zimbabwe people, the five million zimbabwe people will further strengthen their unity and intensify their struggle for national liberation. the chinese government and people are deeply convinced that the heroic zimbabwe people, with the solidarity and support of the peoples of the world and the countries that uphold justice, will certainly overcome all difficulties and obstacles, shatter all schemes and tricks of colonialism and neo-colonialism and finally win true national independence.

5. the chinese delegation maintains that in order to safeguard the principles of the u.n. charter, it stands to reason that the security council should sternly condemn the fraud played by the british government and the racist regime of rhodesia; condemn the u.s. government and british government for their open violation of the sanctions against southern rhodesia; and condemn the south african and portuguese authorities for their collusion with the racist regime in southern rhodesia. in order to fulfill its obligations under the u.n. charter, it stands to reason that the security council should call upon all the governments and peoples of the world to give firm support to the zimbabwe people's struggle against british imperialism and the white colonialist rule and for national liberation. the present draft resolution fails to contain the above contents and is therefore quite inadequate. with the above statement, the chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the somali representative.

that is all i want to say. thank you, mr. president. /

**Chinese Representative An Chih-yuan Speaks
at Organizational Meeting of UN Economic
and Social Council**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Jan. 6, 1972)

the
organizational meeting of the 52nd session of the economic and social council of the united nations yesterday began its 3-day discussions on the agenda of work of the current session for spring and summer.

at yesterday's meeting, karoly szarka, permanent representative of hungary to the united nations, was elected president of the council for this year.

the outgoing council president and the representatives of some states members of the council welcomed the representatives of china and other newly-elected states members of the council.

after the re-election at the 26th session of the u.n. general assembly, the 27 states members of the economic and social council at the present session are: bolivia, brazil, burundi, ceylon, chile, china, finland, france,

ghana, greece, haiti, hungary, italy, japan, kenya, lebanon, malagasy, malaysia, new zealand, niger, peru, poland, tunisia, the soviet union, britain, the united states and zaire.

chinese representative an chih-yuan spoke at today's meeting. he first expressed sincere thanks to the council president and the representatives of some states members of the council for their welcome to the chinese delegation. he also congratulated the newly-elected president and vice-presidents of the council.

an chih-yuan said, "we would like to express once again our thanks to all the countries and peoples that uphold justice for their firm struggle for the restoration of all the legitimate rights of the people's republic of china in the united nations and our sincere thanks to our friends of various countries for their support to china's participation in the economic and social council.

"reviewing the situation over the past year in the world and the situation of the 26th session of the united nations general assembly, it is not difficult to see that spectacular changes have occurred both on the international arena and in the united nations. the medium and small countries in asia, africa and latin america are getting further united; they have intensified their struggle for the defence of their national independence and state sovereignty, against foreign aggression and interference and against the power politics and hegemony of the superpowers, and are playing an ever more inspiring role in the united nations. it has become more and more difficult for the one or two superpowers to control and monopolize the united nations affairs as they did in the past. a certain semi-superpower which is carrying out the criminal act of subjecting a sovereign country to subversion, aggression and dismemberment under the camouflage of 'peace', 'humanity' and 'non-alignment' has also been severely condemned by the overwhelming majority of the states members of the security council and the united nations and has been discredited and greatly isolated. although imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are trying by every possible means to save themselves from their defeat, they cannot obstruct the great historical trend: countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution."

an chih-yuan said, "countries, big or small, must be equal. the affairs of a country must be handled by the people of that country; world affairs must be handled by all countries; and affairs of the united nations must be handled by all the states members of the united nations. this is the common voice of the medium and small countries. the chinese government has consistently supported the medium, small and other countries in their struggle to defend their equal status in international relations and firmly oppose the one or two superpowers in carrying out aggression, subversion, interference, plunder, control and bullying against other countries. we will unswervingly stand together with the third world and all the countries that uphold justice in a common struggle to defend the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries, develop independent national economies and economic cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit, safeguard international security and promote human progress."

in conclusion, an chih-yuan said, "despite the fact that the role we can play in the united nations is limited, we are willing to do our best. in connection with the work of the economic and social council, we are also ready to exert our efforts together with our fellow representatives.

"the chinese delegation in principle agrees to the agenda of this meeting."

Chinese Representative An Chih-yuan Requests Change in Unreasonable Distribution of Seats at UN ECOSOC Sessional Committees

(NCNA-English United Nations, Jan. 8, 1972)

at the organizational meeting of the 52nd session of the economic and social council of the united nations yesterday afternoon discussing the enlargement and election of members of the sessional committees of the council, chinese representative an chih-yuan explained the chinese delegation's stand for and support of the enlargement of its membership from 27 to 54. he pointed out that the present distribution of seats is most unreasonable and does not conform to the actual situation of the increasingly greater role played by the asian, african and latin-american countries in the united nations.

an chih-yuan said, "the distribution of seats for different regional groups is not reasonable, for it fails to reflect the actual situation in which an increasing number of countries from asia, africa and latin america have joined the united nations and are playing an increasingly greater role in various fields of the work of the united nations. for instance, the asian group has 32 seats, yet it has been allotted only 11 seats, comprising only one third. the group of western europe, north america and oceania has 23 countries, but it has got 13 seats, comprising more than one half. the east european group has 7 countries, but it has got 6 seats, comprising 85 per cent. a comparison of the seats allotted to these groups shows that the distribution is obviously unreasonable. we should consider an increase in the number of seats for the asian group and other regions whose allotted seats are not adequate. in particular, it should be pointed out that among the six seats for the east european group, the soviet union and ukraine will occupy two. this is unfair. we must not ignore the many asian, african and latin american countries which earnestly wish to take part in the work of the council, and allow one country, the soviet union, to occupy two seats. such a most unreasonable state of affairs must be changed."

an chih-yuan pointed out, "we firmly oppose indian candidature for the sessional committees of the ecosoc. as is known to all, under the support and abetment of a superpower, india launched a barbarous aggression against pakistan, trampled upon and dismembered a sovereign country. with its criminal acts, the indian government has stripped off all the mantles of 'peace', 'humanity' and 'non-alignment' which it has long been using to hoodwink the world public, thus laying bare under broad daylight its ugly features

as an aggressor. the indian government has grossly violated the u.n. resolution calling for ceasefire and troop withdrawal by india and pakistan and refused to implement the security council resolution for ceasefire and troop withdrawal.

will it not be a big mockery to the united nations if such a country which has trampled upon the purposes and principles of the u.n. charter at will should be allowed to take part in the sessional committees of the ecosoc?"

in conclusion, an chih-yuan emphasized, "we reiterate that the chinese delegation is firmly opposed to india's candidature for the sessional committees of the ecosoc."

the organizational meeting of the 52nd session of the economic and social council concluded yesterday evening after three days' discussions.

the meeting discussed and approved the basic programme of work of the council for this year and approved the provisional agenda of the 52nd session of the council scheduled for may-june 1972. the meeting elected chairman of the council's economic committee, social committee and co-ordination committee respectively. the meeting approved the appointments of the members of the advisory committee on the application of science and technology to development and members of the committee for development planning for a three-year term beginning january first this year. it also approved the appointments of representatives on the five functional commissions: the statistical commission, the population commission, the commission for social development, the commission on human rights and the commission on the status of women.

the meeting also elected 27 members to the sessional committees for the 52nd session of the council.

Huang Hua Urges UN and All Related Organizations to Cease Immediately All Contacts with Chiang Kai-shek Clique

(NCNA-English United Nations, Jan. 13, 1972)

huang hua, permanent representative of the people's republic of china to the united nations, yesterday sent a note to kurt waldheim, secretary-general of the united nations, urging the u.n. secretariat immediately to take corresponding measures to cease all contacts with the chiang kai-shek clique and stop immediately all the assistance and contacts of the "development programme", the "office of technical cooperation" and all other related u.n. bodies with that clique in accordance with the resolution adopted at the 26th session of the u.n. general assembly on october 25, 1971, restoring to the people's republic of china all its lawful rights in the united nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of the chiang kai-shek clique from the united nations and all the organizations related to it.

the note reads:

"1. at its 26th session, the general assembly of the united nations adopted on october 25, 1971, a resolution restoring to the people's republic of china all its lawful rights in the united nations and expelling forthwith the

representatives of the chiang kai-shek clique from the united nations and all the organizations related to it. upon the adoption of the above resolution, the united nations and all its related organizations should immediately cease all their contacts with the chiang kai-shek clique and immediately stop all projects of assistance to that clique.

"2. however, it is understood that after the adoption of the above resolution some u.n. bodies, such as the "development programme" and the "office of technical cooperation", are still continuing their on-going programme of assistance to the chiang kai-shek clique although they have reportedly decided to stop their projects of assistance to that clique which have not yet begun. the permanent mission of the people's republic of china considers that the continuation of such a state of affairs is in complete violation of the above resolution of the united nations and is, therefore, impermissible. the permanent mission of the people's republic of china asks the secretariat of the united nations immediately to take corresponding measures to cease all contacts with the chiang kai-shek clique and to immediately stop all the assistance and contacts of the "development programme" and the "office of technical cooperation" as well as all the other related u.n. bodies with the chiang kai-shek clique, including on-going projects and projects which have not yet begun, so that the resolution adopted by the united nations general assembly at its 26th session on october 25 last year may be implemented in earnest.

"3. the permanent mission of the people's republic of china hopes that the secretariat will inform it at an earliest possible date of the results from actions taken in regard to the above question."

**Chinese Representative Huang Hua Supports
Demand to Hold Security Council Special
Meetings in Africa**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Jan. 19, 1972)

huang hua,
permanent representative of china on the u.n. security council, speaking at the 1626th security council meeting today, expressed full support for the just demand of african countries to hold special meetings of the security council in africa.

he exposed certain big powers for showing brazen contempt for and sabotaging the resolutions adopted by the u.n. general assembly and security council, condemned the ruthless persecution and suppression of the african people by the reactionary authorities in rhodesia and south africa and the portuguese colonial authorities, and demanded that the security council and the u.n. secretariat speedily complete the preparations for the holding of meetings in africa so that they can take place as scheduled.

huang hua said, "the chinese delegation fully supports the holding of special meetings of the security council in addis ababa, africa. the chinese delegation is of the opinion that it is very proper and most timely for the organization of african unity to ask the

security council to hold its meetings in africa. it reflects the strong desire of the overwhelming majority of african countries and the entire african people for more direct concern and attention by the united nations and the security council over the development of the current situation in africa, although the record of the united nations and the security council on the settlement of the grave issues facing africa has been most disappointing."

huang hua emphasized, "at present, the struggle of the african countries and peoples in defence of their national independence and state sovereignty and the movements of the people in the non-independent regions of africa for national independence and national liberation are vigorously surging forward. in the meantime, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are still carrying out frantic bloody suppression of the african people's national liberation movements and subjecting the independent african countries to intensified aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying. all this seriously affects the peace and security in the african continent and the world."

huang hua noted, "the sanctions against the racist regime in southern rhodesia are being violated ever more seriously. in particular, some big powers have shown brazen contempt for the resolutions on sanctions adopted by the general assembly and the security council and have openly announced measures in violation of the sanctions. the above acts have aroused the great indignation of the overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples in africa and the whole world."

huang hua further noted, "the new fraud concocted by the british government and the reactionary authorities in southern rhodesia has evoked the strong resistance of the zimbabwe people, who have staged large-scale mass demonstrations. however, their just action has been subjected to the ruthless and barbarous suppression by the smith racist regime."

he continued, "supported by the colonialists and neo-colonialists, the racist regime in south africa is stepping up the practice of its reactionary fascist racism and the barbarous policies of racial discrimination and apartheid, ruthlessly persecuting the africans in south africa and deliberately creating and provoking contradictions and conflicts among the different races and tribes, in an attempt to attain their aim of divide and rule by using africans to oppose africans. with the support of certain big powers, the vorster regime is pursuing a policy of colonial expansion abroad. up to now it is still illegally occupying namibia and is colluding with the portuguese colonialists and the racists of southern rhodesia in suppressing the national liberation movements in mozambique, zimbabwe and angola, posing a menace to the peace and security of the independent countries in southern africa, and there exists the danger of its development into military conflicts. we deem it necessary for the security council to respond to the demand of the african countries and peoples, respect the relevant resolutions adopted by the u.n. general assembly and hold its meetings in africa, and discuss in earnest the various grave problems confronting the african continent and take corresponding measures in accordance with the principles of the u.n. charter. the security council bears an unshirkable responsibility in

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this respect. it is totally unjustifiable for certain member states to seek pretexts to obstruct or delay the holding of the security council meetings in africa."

huang hua said, "thanks to the hard efforts of mr. farah, president of the security council, and the representatives of african and other countries, the sub-committee has overcome many difficulties and finally presented a report on the basis of reaching consensus through consultations. i would like to take this opportunity to express congratulations to the president of the security council mr. farah and the sub-committee led by him."

in conclusion, huang hua said that "the security council and the secretariat should speedily complete the various preparations for the holding of the meetings in africa in accordance with the resolution just adopted, so that the meetings can take place as scheduled."

UN Special Committee on Decolonization Decides to Send Representative to Security Council Meeting in Africa

(NCNA-English United Nations, Jan. 21, 1972)

the special committee on decolonization of the united nations held its first meeting in 1972 today. the meeting unanimously elected salim ahmed salim, permanent representative of the united republic of tanzania, as chairman of the committee for 1972, and decided to send him as representative of the committee to attend the special security council meeting scheduled to be held in addis ababa, capital of ethiopia, on january 28.

the meeting also elected representatives of trinidad and tobaggo, and czechoslovakia as vice-chairmen; and that of afghanistan as rapporteur.

salim made a speech after he was elected as chairman of the special committee. he thanked the representatives of various countries for their support, and welcomed the representatives of china and other countries on their participation for the first time in the work of the special committee on decolonization. "the membership of china in this committee has a special significance. not only does it add one more permanent member of the security council to the committee, but also it demonstrates china's genuine interest in the struggle for freedom and independence of all colonial peoples," he said.

referring to the tasks of the special committee, salim said, "certainly few, if any, of us can be very happy at the pace of decolonization, particularly in southern africa. in that area, regression and oppression of the african peoples by the white racist and fascist regimes have been intensified."

salim denounced the united states which, as a permanent member of the security council, made a decision last year to import chrome from south africa in disregard of the u.n. sanction resolutions. he also denounced the british government for selling out the african people in zimbabwe through an agreement with the reactionary authorities of rhodesia, and pointed out that it will be the duty of the special committee on decolonization to do everything within its competence to assist the people of zimbabwe in their struggle.

referring to the situation in the territories under portuguese colonial domination, salim praised the people there for having made outstanding gains in their struggle for national liberation. he said, "for those territories, the question is no longer whether victory is possible; rather it is when will the people achieve their victory and how." he also denounced the u.s. and other western countries for backing portugal in her suppression of the struggle of the african people.

referring to the question of namibia, salim denounced south africa for its ruthless suppression of the people there.

he stressed that it is necessary for the special committee on decolonization to establish definite and regular contacts with the leaders of the liberation movements of africa and to intensify contacts with the organization of african unity.

chinese representative an chih-yuan took part for the first time in the work of the special committee on decolonization. he thanked the representatives of various countries for their welcome. he also expressed congratulations to salim on his election as chairman of the committee, and to the representatives of trinidad and tobago, czechoslovakia and afghanistan on their election as vice-chairmen and rapporteur. he expressed resolute support for all struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

an chih-yuan said, "the continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a grave challenge to the people of the whole world and is in complete violation of the basic principles of the u.n. charter. in the past century or so, the chinese people suffered a great deal under the oppression of imperialism and colonialism, and we cherish the greatest sympathy and deepest concern for the people of various countries still under the rule of colonialism. the chinese government and people firmly support the people of mozambique, angola and guinea (bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, firmly support the people of azania, zimbabwe and namibia in their struggle against the white colonialist rule and racial discrimination and firmly support all the just struggles against colonialism and neo-colonialism. this is our consistent and unshakable stand."

an chih-yuan emphasized, "the present world situation is excellent. countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution -- this great historical tide is vigorously pounding the decadent rule of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. the colonial people's struggle for independence and liberation constitutes an important component part of this

great historical tide in our era. we are glad to note that in recent years, their struggles, particularly the armed struggles for national independence, have been surging forward wave upon wave. their struggle is a just one and a just cause will surely triumph exclamation"

**General Statement by Chinese Representative
Huang Hua at Security Council Meeting Held
in Africa**

(NCNA-English Addis Ababa, Jan. 31, 1972)

huang hua,
chinese permanent representative on the u.n. security council, made a general statement on african questions at a security council meeting held here today. the statement reads:

mr. president,
fellow representatives,

first of all, allow me to express sincere thanks to the ethiopian government for providing facilities for the holding of the current meetings of the security council in africa. i would also like to take this opportunity to extend cordial greetings and high respects to his imperial majesty haile selassie the first, to his excellency president ould daddah, current chairman of the organization of african unity, and to the fraternal ethiopian people and the entire african people.

at the request of the organization of african unity, the united nations has decided to hold in africa special meetings of the security council to discuss the urgent questions with which africa is confronted. the security council is holding meetings in africa for the first time in the twentyseven years since the founding of the united nations, and it represents a victory for the african countries struggling to win and safeguard national independence. the chinese delegation is glad to see the holding in africa of meetings of the security council and hopes that they will make due contributions.

the chinese delegation has listened carefully to the important speeches made by his imperial majesty haile selassie the first and president ould daddah, chairmen of the special committees on decolonization and apartheid and the u.n. council for namibia as well as the foreign ministers and representatives of many african countries. now the chinese delegation would like to make the following observation:

1. in the twentyseven years since world war ii, the face of africa has undergone tremendous changes. the african continent is one of the cradles of world civilization, and the industrious and talented african people have made outstanding contributions in the creation of ancient world cultures. with the invasion of european colonialists in the 15th century, africa was unfortunately reduced to an object of plunder by the colonialists, who enslaved the african people and traded in "negro slaves," and africa became a "paradise of western adventurers," trampled upon and carved up at

will by the imperialists. It should be pointed out that it is the blood and sweat of the african people that nurtured modern capitalism in its early dawn. Imperialist and colonialist oppression and exploitation brought dire calamities to the african people and plunged africa into darkness for a long period of time. But where there is oppression there is resistance. The heroic african people have never yielded; they have launched wave upon wave of resistance against imperialist and colonialist invasion and rule, and thus written brilliant chapters in the history of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle of the people of the world. Now, the tide of history has changed. After world war ii, the political consciousness of the african people rose and the national independence movement on the african continent mounted as they had never done before, and a series of countries won independence one after another. Africa, which was for long slanderously called the "dark continent" by the western colonialists, has become today a forefront ablaze with the struggle against imperialism.

2. The present situation in africa is very good. Those countries that have won independence are waging persistent struggles to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, consolidate national independence and safeguard state sovereignty, eliminate colonialist forces and develop national economy and culture, and are winning continuous victories. More and more african countries are becoming further united to jointly oppose the aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying by imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. On the international forums of the third conference of the heads of state and government of non-aligned countries and the 26th session of the U.N. general assembly, the representatives of many african countries, together with those of small and medium-sized countries of other continents, strongly voiced the opposition of the third world to the power politics and hegemony of the superpowers. The eighth summit conference of the organization of african unity adopted anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist resolutions opposing the activities of mercenary troops in africa, protecting the natural resources of the african continent and its coastal waters and advocating the eradication of colonialism in africa. African countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. In areas which have not yet gained independence, mass struggles against colonialist rule and racial discrimination and for winning national independence are developing vigorously. The armed struggles in many areas are growing in depth. At present, the national liberation movement in africa is converging with that in asia and latin america to form a powerful torrent of revolutionary struggle pounding the reactionary rule of imperialism. The development of the situation in africa is eloquent proof that it is an irresistible historical trend of the world today that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution.

3. Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are not reconciled to their defeat in africa and are trying to stage a come-back; and social-imperialism is actively infiltrating into africa in an attempt to contend with colonialism and neo-colonialism for spheres of influence. While engaging in political deception, they are either buying over traitors to carry out subversive activities and undermine the independence of african countries, or organizing mercenary troops to commit



flagrant armed invasion, or employing these different tactics at the same time. Their scheming and disruptive activities are seriously threatening the independence and security of the african countries. This is an urgent problem africa is now faced with. At the same time, imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and particularly the united states and britain are giving political, economic and military aid to the white racist regimes in south africa and rhodesia and to the portuguese colonialist authorities, and supporting them in forming a reactionary military alliance for the joint suppression of the national liberation struggles of the people of azania, zimbabwe, namibia and the portuguese colonies, in a vain attempt to perpetrate their colonialist plunder of southern africa and to direct military threats and armed provocations against neighbouring independent african countries. This is another urgent problem now facing africa,

4. according to the purposes and principles of the u-n. charter, the united nations should support the african people's just cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and winning and safeguarding national independence. However, as a result of obstruction and disruption by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the united nations in the past failed to play the role as it should, but instead did things detrimental to the desires and interests of the african people. It was under the flag of the united nations that imperialist aggressors overthrew the legitimate government of the congo in the early days of its independence, which was led by its national hero lumumba. and lumumba himself was murdered in cold blood. It is not useless to review this bitter historical lesson today when the african people are facing the tasks of a grave struggle. The united nations must not be allowed to do anything again to harm the interests of the african people.

5. In 1964 the chinese government announced the five principles guiding its relations with african countries, they are: (1) support the african peoples in their struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence; (2) support the pursuance of a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment by the governments of the african countries; (3) support the desire of the african peoples to achieve unity and solidarity in the manner of their own choice; (4) support the african countries in their efforts to settle their disputes through peaceful consultation; and (5) hold that the sovereignty of african countries should be respected by all other countries and that encroachment and interference from any quarters should be opposed. The chinese government has unswervingly abided by the above five principles. It firmly maintains that scheming activities by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to undermine the independence and sovereignty of african countries must be checked effectively, and that the white racist regimes in south africa and rhodesia and the portuguese colonialist rule must be brought to an immediate end, so that the people of azania, zimbabwe, namibia, angola, mozambique, guinea (bissau), etc. may achieve national independence free from any outside interference.

the heroic people of zimbabwe have won the sympathy and support of the revolutionary people throughout the world for the mammoth demonstrations and protests which

have recently spread to all parts of the country against the so-called "agreement" between Britain and the white racist regime of Rhodesia and for winning national independence. As is known to all, the Rhodesian white racist regime is a direct outcome of the British colonialist policy, and the so-called "agreement on the settlement of the Rhodesian independence dispute" is an out-and-out fraud. The heroic struggle of the Zimbabwe people has not only declared the total bankruptcy of this so-called "agreement", but once again forcefully demonstrated their strong will to overthrow colonialist rule and immediately achieve national independence.

The colonialist authorities of South Africa are still illegally occupying Namibia and are intensifying their efforts to push their policies of apartheid and racial discrimination and brutally repress the national liberation movement of the people of Namibia. The recent general strike staged by the broad masses of the workers of Namibia against racial oppression and cruel exploitation by the colonialist authorities of South Africa has further demonstrated the heroic spirit of the people of Namibia in waging unremitting struggles for national liberation.

The Portuguese government is obdurately maintaining its colonial rule, carrying on barbarous, genocidal colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and even blatantly launched armed invasions of independent African states. The armed struggles vigorously waged by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) have dealt heavy blows at the Portuguese colonial authorities. Their just struggles have won the active support of the African countries and the people of the whole world and are continuously winning new victories.

Racial discrimination and apartheid existing in Southern Africa and other areas is the outcome of colonialist and imperialist policies. The struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa against racial discrimination and apartheid and against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are converging to form an irresistible current. It should be pointed out that the white racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonial authorities dare to defy world condemnation and stubbornly push their brutal colonial rule and barbarous policy of racial discrimination mainly because they have the political, economic and military support of a handful of countries, such as the United States and Britain. The practice of the African people's struggle against racial discrimination proves that only by totally overthrowing colonial rule and achieving national liberation can the evils of racial discrimination be eradicated.

The Chinese government and people have always regarded the African people's struggle as a tremendous support to them. The Chinese government and people firmly support the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, firmly support the peoples of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against white colonialist rule and racial discrimination. The Chinese government and people will unswervingly stand together with the African countries and the entire African people in a joint struggle to oppose imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, safeguard national independence and win national liberation.

the chinese delegation holds that the security council must sternly condemn the atrocities committed by the rhodesian racist regime against the zimbabwe people and categorically reject the fraud of the so-called "agreement" concocted by britain in collaboration with the rhodesian racist regime; that it must sternly condemn the portuguese and south african colonialist authorities for their crimes of repressing national liberation movements and pushing the policies of apartheid; and that it must sternly condemn the governments of the united states, britain and other countries for their acts of supporting rhodesia, south africa and the portuguese colonialists. the security council should further strengthen and expand the sanctions against rhodesia, south africa and the portuguese colonialists. in order to fulfil its obligations under the u.n. charter, the security council should call upon the governments and people of all countries to give active support and solidarity to the peoples of zimbabwe, azania, namibia, angola, mozambique and guinea (bissau) in their just struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racial discrimination and apartheid and for national independence.

in conclusion, the chinese delegation would like to point out: the affairs of africa can only be settled by the african countries and people themselves and the security council must respect the desires of the african countries and people in solving the urgent problems now confronting them. the african people is a great people. with their own hands the african people will in the end surely smash all the shackles imposed by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and win the final victory of their struggle for national liberation.

Chinese Representative Huang Hua Exposes Lies and Fallacies of US, British Representatives

(NCNA-English Addis Ababa, Feb. 3, 1972)

at the afternoon session here today of the security council, chinese permanent representative on the u.n. security council huang hua refuted the lies and fallacies spread by the representatives of the united states, britain and other countries in their speeches. huang hua bitterly denounced imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and expressed support to the african people in their just struggle for national independence and against racial discrimination.

representative huang hua said: "after hearing the speeches made by certain representatives, i deem it necessary to add a few remarks:

"in these speeches, the u.s. and british representatives have tried hard to dress up their governments as if the latter were so much concerned about the sufferings of the african people, as if they were consistently opposed to colonialism and racism. these hypocritical rhetorics can deceive no one. they say that they also oppose the white colonialist rule in south africa and southern rhodesia, and that they have

also favoured and applied economic sanctions against southern rhodesia and have enforced an arms embargo on south africa. well, who was it that openly announced the selling of arms to the south african authorities last year? and who was it that openly declared not long ago its readiness to import chrome from southern rhodesia? a certain representative asserted that there were no sales of arms from his government to portugal "or use in africa. this is all the more deceptive talk. it may be asked: whose weapons are the portuguese colonialist authorities using in waging their ruthless colonialist wars in africa? who does not know that the south african and rhodesian white racist regimes and the portuguese colonialist rule in africa can last till today precisely because imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, particularly the united states and britain, have given political, economic and military assistance to them and supported them in forming a reactionary military alliance for the joint suppression of the national liberation struggles of the peoples of southern africa. they themselves are the behind-the-scenes big bosses of south africa, southern rhodesia and the portuguese colonialist authorities. this is an iron-clad fact which cannot be denied."

he pointed out: "they also took pains to preach pacifism and non-violence to the african people who are being subjected to colonialist rule and to barbarous and brutal slaughter and repression. on the one hand, these allies of the white racist regimes of south africa and southern rhodesia and the portuguese colonialist authorities support the latter in carrying out repression and genocidal colonialist wars against the african people; on the other hand, they ask the brutally oppressed people of africa to give up struggle and wait with patience. listen to their preaching: 'down-trodden people of africa, you are blessed. if only you wait until such overlords as john vorster, ian smith and marcelo caetano show mercy, then equality, freedom and independence will descend upon you.' to put it bluntly, their aim is to force the african people still under colonialist rule to accept submissively the colonialists' perpetual exploitation, enslavement and slaughter."

he also refuted the theory that "even a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration" and that people "must work hard to put it out". he pointed out: "according to such logic, only the imperialists would be allowed to subject others to aggression and intimidation, while the victims of aggression would not be allowed to wage struggles, only the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists would be allowed to oppress others, while the oppressed would not be allowed to rise in resistance. the african people, the arab peoples, the peoples of indochina and the people of the whole world love peace, but they love freedom and liberation all the more. as is well known, after world war ii, many african countries have won national independence, and all this has been achieved as a result of the long struggles of the people of these countries and the world over. at present, when imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism have blocked all peaceful solutions, the people of southern africa and other regions who are being subjected to ruthless colonialist oppression and slaughter have taken up arms to wage armed revolution against armed counter-revolution so as to win national independence and liberation. these struggles are perfectly just and will certainly win final victory. no amount of political hoax of pacifism and non-violence or armed repression can block this trend."



representative huang hua stressed: "on the question of southern rhodesia, they have tried hard to justify the fraud of the so-called 'settlement proposals' concocted by britain and the southern rhodesian authorities, as if the will of the local people could not be ascertained and the voice of the local people could not be heard without the so-called 'test of acceptability' by the pearce commission in southern rhodesia. this is all the more highly absurd. the so-called pearce commission is in itself a tool for perpetrating the fraud concocted by britain and southern rhodesia. the five million people of zimbabwe have long made known their determined will to overthrow colonialist rule and achieve national independence through their protracted struggles. the recent heroic struggle waged by the zimbabwe people has further dealt a heavy blow at the british imperialists and the colonialist authorities of southern rhodesia. in fact, the imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists are not merely feigning themselves deaf and mute there, they are trying to impose the fraud of the so-called 'settlement proposals' on the zimbabwe people in spite of the strong opposition of the people of zimbabwe, the whole of africa and the rest of the world. should they insist on so doing, they will certainly arouse the zimbabwe people and the people of the world to still more vehement opposition and resolute struggles, thus hastening their own doom."

UN Security Council Special Meetings Close in Addis Ababa

(NCNA-English Addis Ababa, Feb. 5, 1972)

the special meetings of the u.n. security council here came to a close early this morning. resolutions concerning african territories under portuguese domination, on apartheid (in south africa) and on namibia were adopted yesterday. this is a victory for the african countries and people in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racialism and for national independence after frustrating the obstruction and sabotage of the imperialist and colonialist forces.

backed by representatives of other western countries, the british representative vetoed unjustifiably the draft resolution on rhodesia in defiance of the will of the overwhelming majority of countries. this once again laid bare the futile attempt of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism to maintain their colonial domination in africa. the abstention of the united states and certain other western countries on the voting of a number of draft resolutions sponsored by african countries exposed the hypocrisy of these self-styled "friends" of the african people.

since the opening of this session, the representatives of many asian, african and latin american countries as well as african national liberation movements have, in their speeches at the session, vehemently condemned imperialism for supporting the racist regimes in south africa and rhodesia and the

portuguese colonial authorities in suppressing the national independence struggle of the people in southern africa and portuguese colonies. they firmly demanded that the security council take measures to bring an end to colonial and racist rule in africa. resisting pressure from western countries, representatives of african and other countries through their consultations and cooperation at and outside the special meetings put forward draft resolutions embodying the aspirations of the african people.

two resolutions on namibia were first discussed at the february 4 meeting.

one of the resolutions jointly sponsored by guinea, somalia, the sudan and yugoslavia strongly condemns the refusal of south africa to comply with the resolutions of the u.n. general assembly and the security council pertaining to namibia, reaffirms that the continued occupation of namibia by the south african authorities is illegal, scathingly condemns their recent repressive measures against the african labourers in namibia, and calls on south africa to abolish the labour system which may be in conflict with the basic provisions of the universal declaration of human rights, and to withdraw immediately its police and military forces as well as its civilian personnel from namibia. the resolution says that in the event of failure on the part of south africa to comply with this resolution, the security council will meet immediately to determine upon steps or measures. the security council adopted this resolution on namibia with 13 member states -- argentina, belgium, china, guinea, india, italy, japan, panama, somalia, the sudan, the united states, the soviet union and yugoslavia -- voting for and two -- france and britain -- abstaining.

the other resolution on namibia was sponsored by argentina. it invites the secretary-general of the united nations, in consultation and close cooperation with the security council, "to initiate as soon as possible contacts with all parties concerned" with a view to creating the necessary conditions for the people of namibia to exert their right to self-determination. this resolution was adopted with 14 member states voted for it. chinese representative huang hua did not take part in the vote.

before the two draft resolutions on namibia were discussed and put to the vote, huang hua, chinese permanent representative on the security council, gave his views on them and expounded china's principled stand.

concerning the draft resolution sponsored by guinea, somalia, the sudan and yugoslavia, huang hua pointed out that on the question of namibia the security council should condemn specifically the united states, britain and other countries for supporting the illegal occupation of namibia by the south african authorities. but the chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

as to the draft resolution put forward by argentina, huang hua said, "the chinese government has consistently stood for the immediate achievement of national independence by the people of namibia free from any outside interference. this is also the strong desire and sacred right of the namibian people. however, the content of the draft

resolution has failed to reflect this basic principle. it should also be pointed out that the draft resolution has not at all condemned the illegal occupation of namibia by the south african authorities and has given no support to the namibian people's just struggle for national independence. the adoption of such a draft resolution would in effect mean a retrogression of the security council from its original stand on the question of namibia."

huang hua said: the united nations general assembly and the security council have repeatedly adopted resolutions, condemning the south african authorities for their illegal occupation of namibia, and asking all countries to refrain from all relations and dealings with the south african authorities. the eighth summit conference of the organization of african unity also issued a solemn declaration rejecting any "dialogue" with the racist minority regime of south africa. huang hua added, "we do not doubt the sincerity of the sponsor nation of the draft resolution. but in our opinion, this draft resolution is not in keeping with the spirit of the various resolutions adopted by the U.N. general assembly and the security council as well as the declaration of the organization of african unity. furthermore, i suspect whether this draft resolution could be used by some imperialist powers to open the door for a 'dialogue' with the south african authorities, split the african countries and thus help the south african authorities extricate themselves from their present utter isolation and alleviate the pressure of the international community on the south african authorities. should this happen, it will bring unfavourable effect to the just struggle of the people of southern africa."

then the security council discussed the draft resolution on rhodesia jointly sponsored by guinea, somalia and the sudan. this draft resolution expresses concern over the dangerous political situation in rhodesia, condemns the recent killings and detention of many africans by the illegal rhodesian regime. the draft resolution "urges the united kingdom government, as a matter of urgency, to desist from implementing the 'settlement' proposals agreed upon between the united kingdom government and the illegal rebel regime, taking into account the overwhelming african opposition to those proposals."

it calls upon the member states to assure the full implementation of economic sanctions against rhodesia and calls upon south africa to withdraw immediately its police and armed forces from the territory of rhodesia.

british representative colin crowe stubbornly rejected this resolution. attacking the resolution, he said the actions it called for "in the current circumstances are not practical." he arbitrarily asserted that the british government "cannot accept a directive to change their policy while it is in the process of being worked out."

before the voting, huang hua pointed out, "the chinese government has consistently held that britain should immediately end the colonialist rule of the white racist regime of southern rhodesia, so that the zimbabwe people may achieve national independence without any outside interference. this is the universal desire and sacred right of the zimbabwe people."

huang hua said, "the heroic struggle now being waged by the zimbabwe people is entirely just. the security

council should call on the governments and people of all countries to give active support and solidarity to the just struggle of the zimbabwe people. moreover, it must be pointed out that the barbarous repression of the zimbabwe people by the smith white racist regime is being carried out with the connivance of the british government with the very aim of forcibly pushing through their fraud of the so-called 'settlement proposals'. therefore, the security council should not only condemn the smith racist regime of southern rhodesia but also condemn its accomplice the british government. in addition, the security council should condemn the u.s. government and other countries for violating the sanctions against southern rhodesia." after making this statement, huang hua voted for the draft resolution.

the voting on the draft resolution on rhodesia was nine for (argentina, china, guinea, india, panama, somalia, the sudan, the soviet union and yugoslavia), one against (britain) and five abstained (belgium, france, italy, the united states and japan). this resolution was not adopted by the security council because it was vetoed by britain.

the abuse of veto by the british representative was vehemently condemned by representatives of quite a number of countries.

omar arteh ghalib, secretary of state for foreign affairs of somalia, said that the draft resolution, which had been "destroyed" by the british veto, represented the africans' hope for the least that the united kingdom should do. the act would add to the "long list of betrayal" by the united kingdom.

he said, britain's veto proved to the africans it was futile to expect a minimum concession from the imperialists and that the only recourse left to them was to continue their just struggle.

"veto or no veto," he added, "nothing will deter or diminish the pace of our march to freedom and development."

guinean representative abdoulaye toure said: the british veto came as no surprise. africa had learnt three lessons from the british veto: the disregard of the rights of the africans when minority regimes are involved, the support of the western bloc to undermine africa's legitimate right, and the only thing left for the africans was to step up their armed struggle against the oppressors and racists.

chinese representative huang hua expressed his indignation at the abominable practice of britain in abusing the veto. he said, "the draft resolution on the question of southern rhodesia just put to the vote only contains a number of minimum propositions and demands and, as a matter of fact, is not satisfactory. however, the british representative once again abused the veto even on such a minimum draft resolution, thus once again rendering the security council impotent and helpless in face of a major question of right and wrong. we cannot but feel deep regret and indignation at this. the british government bears the unshirkable responsibility for obstructing the security council from performing its duty, for trampling underfoot the principles of the u.n. charter and sabotaging the current security council meetings in africa and for the consequences arising therefrom."



finally, the council adopted two other resolutions. one of these, sponsored by guinea, somalia and the sudan, concerns african territories under portuguese domination. it reaffirms the right to self-determination of the people of angola, mozambique and guinea (bissau) as recognized by the general assembly in its december 14, 1960 resolution, condemns the persistent refusal of the portuguese authorities to implement the resolutions of the general assembly and the security council and calls on the portuguese government to cease immediately the colonial wars and all acts of repression against the people of angola, mozambique and guinea (bissau), to withdraw all its armed forces, to refrain from any violations of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of african states. the resolution condemns "those states which continue to provide portugal with military and other assistance", and calls on them to refrain forthwith from offering the portuguese government any arms and military equipment. the resolution was adopted with nine member states (china, guinea, india, japan, panama, somalia, the sudan, the soviet union and yugoslavia) voting for and six member states (argentina, belgium, france, italy, the united kingdom and the united states) abstaining.

the other was the resolution on apartheid (in south africa) jointly sponsored by guinea, somalia, the sudan, yugoslavia and india. it condemns the south african authorities for continuing their policies of apartheid, recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of south africa in pursuance of their human and political rights, urgently calls upon the south african authorities to release all persons imprisoned or interned as a result of the policies of apartheid and calls upon all states to observe strictly the arms embargo against south africa. the resolution was adopted with 14 member states (argentina, belgium, china, guinea, india, italy, japan, panama, somalia, the sudan, the united kingdom, the united states, the soviet union, and yugoslavia) voting for and one (france) abstaining.

after the two above-mentioned resolutions were adopted, chinese representative huang hua again made a statement at the session. he said, "these resolutions have failed to call upon all countries and people of the world to voice solidarity and support to the just struggles of the peoples of angola, mozambique and guinea (bissau) and azania and have failed to condemn the united states, britain and other countries for their acts of violating the arms embargo and supporting the portuguese colonial authorities and the racist regime of south africa in various fields." despite all this, huang hua said, the chinese delegation, in its consistent stand of supporting the african people in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for winning and safeguarding national independence, voted in favour of the two resolutions.

in conclusion, he stressed, "the current meetings of the security council in africa are drawing to a close. owing to obstructions by certain big powers, the meetings have failed to achieve the expected results. nevertheless, it is clear to all that the just struggles of the peoples of angola, mozambique, guinea (bissau), zimbabwe, namibia, azania and other african countries against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism have formed a surging torrent. they will rely on their own unity and struggles, overcome all obstacles on the road of advance, completely shatter the colonial domination of imperialism,



colonialism and neo-colonialism and win their national independence and liberation. no force on earth can thwart the forward strides of the people of the whole african continent. no matter what may happen in the world, the chinese government and people will, as always, unswervingly stand together with the african people and firmly support their just struggle until they win final victory."

before the close of the week-long special meetings of the u.n. security council, current chairman of the council and sudanese foreign minister mansour khalid spoke on behalf of 15 member states of the council, thanking the host country, ethiopia, for the hospitality extended to all delegations. ethiopian foreign minister merassie haile also made a brief statement expressing the hope that all resolutions adopted by the security council will be implemented fully.

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UN Security Council Continues Meeting on Rhodesia

(NCNA-English United Nations, Feb. 25, 1972)

the security council of the united nations held a meeting again on february 24 to continue consideration on the question of rhodesia following the resumption of the meeting on rhodesia on february 16 at the request of guinea, somalia and the sudan.

huang hua, chinese permanent representative on the u.n. security council, made a speech at yesterday's meeting. he said: "not long ago, the security council held its meetings in africa, which concentrated on the deliberations of a series of urgent questions facing africa, including the question of southern rhodesia. during the session, the secretary-general of the organization of african unity (oau), the foreign ministers and government representatives of many african countries, president ould daddah of mauritania, current chairman of oau, and his imperial majesty emperor haile selassie the first of the host country, as well as many representatives of the african national liberation movements made important speeches at the meetings, which reflected the excellent situation prevailing on the african continent and expressed the strong will of the african countries and people to further unite, resolutely oppose imperialism, social-imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and wage unrelenting struggles to win and safeguard national independence. this not only serves to further mobilize the people of southern africa in their just struggle, but has also focussed the attention of all countries and people of the world that uphold justice and landed imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in unprecedented isolation, thus making important contributions to the promotion of the common cause of the unity of the people of the third world against imperialism.

"the security council meetings in africa have achieved positive results, although owing to the obstruction of britain and its allies, they have fallen short of the

successes expected of them. this is a victory of the african people as well as the people of the whole world."

huang hua said that as a result of the obstruction and sabotage by certain imperialist powers, particularly the misuse of another veto by the british representative on the question of southern rhodesia, the security council was unable to fulfil its duty in regard to the question of southern rhodesia. he pointed out that "such attitude of the british government in wilfully trampling upon the principles of the united nations charter has evoked the righteous indignation of the african countries and the people of the whole world. the fact is very clear: although by its arbitrary and unreasonable attitude the british government has prevented the security council from adopting the necessary resolutions, it cannot check the forward strides of the zimbabwe people, no matter how often it may use the veto, be it a thousand or ten thousand times."

"as to the british government colluding with the smith racist regime of southern rhodesia in an attempt to maintain the colonialist rule in southern rhodesia, it will only come to the tragic end of 'lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet'," he added.

referring to the resolution on the question of rhodesia adopted unanimously at the recent 18th session of the council of ministers of the organization of african unity, huang hua said, "this resolution adopted by the 18th session of the council of ministers of the organization of african unity is just. the chinese government and people express their firm support for this."

he said, "the chinese delegation has repeatedly pointed out that the so-called 'proposal' for the 'settlement of the independence dispute of rhodesia' concocted by the british government and the smith racist regime is an out-and-out fraud. the speeches made by the representatives of the zimbabwe african national union and the zimbabwe african people's union at the security council meetings in africa as well as the speech at the security council which we have lately heard from bishop abel muzorewa, chairman of the african national council, have all fully testified to this indisputable fact."

"having stated the above views, the chinese delegation maintains that on the question of sanctions, the security council should further strengthen and widen the sanctions against the rhodesian racist regime, and should also impose sanctions on south africa and the portuguese colonialist authorities. the security council should sternly condemn the u.s. government's acts of violating the relevant u.n. resolutions on sanctions against southern rhodesia. at the same time, in view of the reports about the import of chrome from southern rhodesia by certain big powers through covert channels in violation of the sanctions against southern rhodesia, the chinese delegation deems it necessary to entrust the committee established in pursuance of security council resolutions on sanctions against southern rhodesia and other related u.n. organs with serious investigations into the above reports. if the investigations prove the above reports to be true, the security council must take measures to sternly condemn the countries concerned."



in conclusion, huang hua said, "the chinese delegation supports the draft resolution co-sponsored by guinea, somalia and the sudan. we hope that the security council will attach great importance to the resolution on southern rhodesia adopted by the council of ministers of oau at its 18th session and will not disappoint the hopes that the security council will take measures to strengthen and widen the sanctions against the illegal regime of southern rhodesia."

UN Security Council Convenes Urgent Meeting on Israeli Aggression Against Lebanon

(NCNA-English United Nations, Feb. 26, 1972)

the u.n. security council convened an urgent meeting this morning at the request of Lebanon to deal with renewed israeli armed aggression against Lebanon yesterday. speaking at the meeting, the representatives of Lebanon, china and somalia severely condemned the israeli aggression and asked the security council to take decisive measures to stop it.

citing facts in his speech, lebanese representative najati kabbani said that yesterday morning a battalion of israeli tanks and armoured cars, supported by infantry units and planes, launched an armed invasion into lebanese territory. the israeli forces attacked lebanese villages and the israeli air force bombarded rashayya-el-fakhar and kfar-hamman. the israeli aggression was still continuing today, he added. israeli artillery and aircraft bombarded al-habbariyya, he said.

he recalled that israel had committed many acts of aggression against Lebanon since its attack on beirut international airport in december, 1968, in spite of the u.n. security council's resolutions condemning its acts. the israeli aggression yesterday was of the largest magnitude, he noted.

in view of israel's occupation of territories of three member states of the united nations since 1967, its stubborn refusal to solve the question of palestine and its repeated aggression against Lebanon, he said, Lebanon urged the security council to take positive and decisive measures to stop the israeli aggression.

huang hua, permanent representative of china on the u.n. security council, pointed out in his speech, "israel has launched naked armed aggression on a large scale against Lebanon. this constitutes a grave violation of the u.n. charter, and this is an iron-clad fact which no amount of sophistry on the part of israel can obliterate. the chinese government and people feel great indignation at the renewed naked armed aggression launched by the israeli zionists against Lebanon.

"the chinese delegation maintains that the security council must condemn most sternly israel's acts of aggression and call upon israel to immediately stop its armed aggression against Lebanon, withdraw all its armed forces from lebanese territory and refrain from the repetition of such acts of aggression."

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huang hua added, "the chinese delegation reserves the right to make further statements on the essence of this question and on the decisions which the security council should take."

somali representative abdulrahim abby farah said that the security council should call on israel to desist from any further armed action against lebanon and to respect the latter's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

**UN Security Council Approves Resolution
Demanding Israel Immediately Desist from
Aggression against Lebanon, Withdraw
Armed Forces**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Feb. 28, 1972)

the security council of the united nations continued its considerations of israel's armed invasion of lebanon at the urgent request of lebanon at a meeting beginning late last night.

in their speeches at the meeting, the representatives of lebanon, guinea, china and some other countries strongly denounced the israeli zionists for their crime of aggression against the palestinian and other arab peoples. the meeting approved a resolution early this morning demanding that israel immediately desist from all military actions against lebanon and withdraw all its armed forces from lebanese territory.

at the meeting, lebanese representative edouard ghorra exposed israel's new crime of invasion. he said that at 8:30 a.m. yesterday, israel mobilized a number of planes to bomb and used heavy artillery to bombard villages in southern and south-eastern lebanon. at noon, israeli troops crossed the border and the armed units of lebanon resisted. at 3:05 p.m., israel again mobilized jets to bomb a palestinian refugee camp at al-nabatiya, killing and wounding many people, mostly children. according to latest information, the israeli aggressors have occupied three towns. ghorra stressed that it was time for the security council to force the israeli invader to withdraw its troops from the lebanese territory and take measures to forestall future israeli aggression against lebanon.

after the lebanese representative's speech, representatives of some other countries spoke. guinean representative abdoulaye toure pointed out that israel was using napalm as well as artillery and planes in an effort to intimidate the arab people. but this would never succeed and the palestinian resistance would continue to grow. he said that as a matter of urgency, the security council should demand immediate cessation of israel's aggression against lebanon and the withdrawal of all israeli troops.

yugoslavian representative lazar mojsov said that toleration of israel's aggression against lebanon



could only encourage it to commit further attacks. the security council should condemn israel and demand that it desist from such acts of aggression and withdraw its forces from the territory of Lebanon.

Argentine representative carlos ortiz de rozas pointed out that the security council should adopt a resolution requesting the cessation of israeli military operations in Lebanon and the complete and immediate withdrawal of israeli forces there.

Italian representative piero vinci then submitted to the meeting a draft resolution co-sponsored by Belgium, France, Italy and Britain. The draft resolution said that "the security council, deploring all actions which have resulted in the loss of innocent lives, demands that israel immediately desist and refrain from any ground and air military action against Lebanon and forthwith withdraw all its military forces from Lebanese territory."

U.S. representative George Bush in his speech requested to add "on both sides" to "innocent lives". British representative Kenneth Jamieson said that since the draft resolution deplored "all actions", the U.S. amendment was not necessary.

At this point, Chinese permanent representative on the U.N. Security Council Huang Hua made a speech. He said, "we have just read the draft resolution co-sponsored by Belgium, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. We have also heard the explanation made by the sponsors. In our opinion, the British representative's explanation of the preambular portion of the draft (i.e., "deploring all actions which have resulted in the loss of innocent lives" -- ed.) is a complete reversal of the right and wrong and a confusion of aggression and the victim of aggression, and thus places the responsibility equally on both sides. This runs entirely counter to the facts."

Huang Hua noted, "the fundamental truth is that the Israeli Zionists have launched aggression against Lebanon. This is the continuation and expansion of Israel's war of aggression of June 1967 against the Arabs. This is not only a violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, but also an attempt to exterminate the resistance movement of the Palestinian people by means of threats and blackmail. In order to defend their right to national existence and to recover their lost territories, the Palestinian and other Arab peoples are fully entitled to take up arms to deal blows at the Israeli aggressors. This is their sacred right. The Palestinian people's armed struggle against the Israeli Zionists is perfectly just, and is in complete conformity with the principles of the U.N. Charter."

Huang Hua said, "the Chinese delegation considers the present draft resolution as highly unsatisfactory. We hold that the Security Council should sternly condemn Israel's aggressive acts against Lebanon. Therefore, we propose that the preambular paragraph be changed to: 'condemning Israel's aggression against Lebanon'. We hope that the sponsor nations can give serious consideration to this amendment in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter and the prevailing facts. If this proposal is not acceptable to the sponsor nations, we would propose that this

paragraph be completely deleted and only the second paragraph, that is the operative paragraph, be retained."

the representatives of the sudan and yugoslavia expressed similar views at the meeting.

the italian representative, on behalf of the co-sponsors of the draft resolution, then asked for a short break for consultation. at this moment, chinese permanent representative on the security council huang hua again made a speech. he pointed out that "the preambular paragraph of the draft resolution in its present form cannot but give the impression of partiality towards the israeli zionists." reiterating the chinese delegation's proposal for an amendment to the draft resolution, huang hua said, "in so doing, we can avoid delay and immediately proceed to actions. and this is precisely what the lebanese representative has asked the security council to do." he expressed the hope that "the sponsor nations will take a sensible attitude and not insist on retaining the first paragraph, so as to enable the security council to take actions immediately."

after the break, the co-sponsors suggested that the preambular paragraph and the operative paragraph be put to separate votes. when the preambular paragraph was put to vote, the representatives of china, guinea, the sudan and yugoslavia voted against and india and the soviet union and another country abstained. the paragraph was thus deleted. the operative paragraph was unanimously approved.

Chinese Representative Speaks at UN Special Committee on Decolonization

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 1, 1972)

the united nations special committee on decolonization held a meeting today to discuss its work programme for this year. chinese representative chang yung-kuan, in a speech at the meeting, drew attention to the excellent situation in the african continent in favour of the national liberation movement and denounced the criminal schemings of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism against the african national liberation movement. he advanced the suggestions of the chinese delegation on the future work of the special committee on decolonization.

the chinese representative said: "the national liberation movement has become the great irresistible historical current of our time, which will certainly continue to surge ahead and win still more important victories. in the years since world war ii, the colonial empires have disintegrated and toppled one after another."

he continued, "the national liberation movement in asia, africa and latin america are surging forward vigorously. all this shows that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution and that this is the inevitable trend of historical development

which no force on earth can resist. the days are gone forever when imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism could rule the fate of other countries at will.

"what should be pointed out in particular is that the national liberation movement in africa has developed vigorously after world war ii. nearly 40 african countries have won independence. the political consciousness of the african people is higher than ever before. earth-shaking changes have taken place on the african continent. africa which was slanderously called the 'dark continent' by the western colonialists is shining forth with radiance in the common struggle of the people of various countries against imperialism.

"at present, the african countries which have already won independence are marching forward with big strides and winning one victory after another on the road of opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism; consolidating national independence and safeguarding state sovereignty, liquidating the colonialist forces and developing national economy and culture. in order to consolidate the fruits of victory and push ahead their struggle, more and more african countries are getting further united among themselves and with the asian and latin american countries against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. in particular, they are directing the spearhead of their struggle against the power politics and hegemony of the superpowers."

he added, "the african countries have now become an important political force on the international political area. they have made important contributions to the common cause of the unity of the people of the third world against imperialism."

chang yung-kuan then referred to the upsurge of the struggles waged by the peoples of zimbabwe, namibia, angola, mozambique and guinea (bissau) to combat colonialist rule and racial discrimination and to win national independence. he declared, "the great majority of african countries have won independence and have now become masters of their own. the non-independent african people will certainly smash the shackles imposed on them and win the victory of national liberation so long as they persevere in unity and struggle".

he continued, "however, no reactionary force will ever step down from the stage of history of their own accord. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are employing tricks and manoeuvres in an attempt to stage a come back or to hang on there. social-imperialism is also trying hard to infiltrate into africa in an attempt to expand its spheres of influence. the revolutionary people of all countries must heighten their vigilance and resolutely frustrate all their criminal scheming activities. sometimes, while engaging in political deception, the imperialists buy over traitors to carry out subversive and disruptive activities; sometimes, baring their fangs, they directly organize mercenary troops to launch armed invasions; sometimes, they try to gain control through 'economic aid' or 'military assistance'. imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are giving political, economic and military assistance to the white racist regimes of south africa and rhodesia and the portuguese colonialist authorities and supporting them in forming a reactionary military alliance for the joint

repression of the national liberation struggles of the people of azania, zimbabwe, namibia and the portuguese colonies and are carrying out military threats and armed provocation against the neighbouring african countries. u.s. and british imperialism withdrew from the special committee on decolonization last year in order to escape from their seats in the dock. at the special meetings of the security council recently held in africa, the british representative, ignoring the just position of the african countries and the broad masses of the african people, again abused the veto and prevented the adoption of the resolution on the question of rhodesia, thus further revealing the true features of british imperialism. we express great indignation and strong condemnation at such flagrant acts of sabotage on their part."

the chinese representative said, "we maintain that the special committee on decolonization should firmly support the people of asia, africa, latin america, oceania and the rest of the world in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the winning and safeguarding of national independence and firmly oppose their aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying against the asian, african and latin american countries and other regions.

"the chinese government and people have always regarded the revolutionary struggles of the people of all countries as a tremendous support to them. the chinese government and people firmly support the people of all countries in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. we consider this to be our bounden internationalist duty. the chinese delegation is ready to exert its efforts to this end."

in conclusion, chang yung-kuan said that the chinese delegation supported the view that the special committee holds its meetings in some african countries.

other speakers at today's meeting included the representatives of iraq, ethiopia, trinidad and tobago, mali, sierra leone, syria, ivory coast, iran and yugoslavia. many speakers supported the proposal for meetings of the special committee to be held in some african countries.

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**Chinese Representative Deems Inappropriate
India's Participation in UN Decolonization
Committee**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 2, 1972)

the united nations special committee on decolonization continued its meeting here today to discuss its work programme for this year and also the composition of its working group.

speaking at the meeting, chinese representative chang yung-kuan stated that the chinese delegation has reservation with regard to the proposed participation of india in the special committee on decolonization and its working group.

he said, "not long ago, the indian government carried out barbarous armed invasion of pakistan and occupied

large tracts of pakistan territory, thus seriously undermining peace on the south asian sub-continent. the indian government has crudely violated the resolution calling for cease-fire and troops withdrawal by india and pakistan adopted by the u.n. general assembly with the overwhelming majority of 104 votes, and has thus far refused to implement the security council resolution on troops withdrawal. these acts of the indian government have laid bare its expansionist nature."

he emphasized, "the chinese delegation considers it inappropriate for such a country which ignores the common desire of all the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples and which has refused to implement the resolutions of the u.n. general assembly and the security council in open violation of the purposes and principles of the u.n. charter to join the special committee on decolonization and its working group."

when the chinese representative finished his speech, indian representative barakat ahmad came out with sheer sophistry, and the soviet representative followed suit trying to justify india's expansionism and slander the principled stand of the chinese delegation with the attack that disapproval of india's participation in the special committee on decolonization and its working group was to distract the attention of the committee. chinese representative chang yung-kuan then again asked the floor and sternly refuted this vile slander of the soviet representative. he said: "i cannot agree with the speech made by the soviet representative who distorted the facts with ulterior motives. he slandered the chinese delegation with sheer lies." "as is well known", he pointed out, "india's aggression against pakistan was carried out with the single-handed support of the soviet government. when i express my views on india's participation in the working group, the soviet representative has come out into the open, thus revealing his own features."

Chinese Representative An Chih-yuan's Speech at UN Sea-Bed Committee

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 3, 1972)

an chih-yuan, representative of the people's republic of china, made a speech at the meeting today of the u.n. committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. the full text of the speech reads:

mr. chairman,
fellow representatives,

first of all, allow me, in the name of the delegation of the people's republic of china, to express thanks to mr. chairman and the representatives of many countries for the welcome they have given us.

it is a pleasure for the delegation of the people's republic of china to come here to take part in the work of the united nations committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of

national jurisdiction and to work together with other member states of this committee for an equitable and reasonable solution to the question of the rights over the seas and oceans.

this committee was established on the active initiative of the developing countries. at its previous sessions, many asian, african and latin american countries played a positive role. they have put forward a number of reasonable propositions in the interests of the people of all countries and expounded the just stand of safeguarding state sovereignty and opposing big-power hegemony, thus winning increasingly extensive sympathy and support throughout the world. this is a most inspiring situation, which reflects the historical trend of the world today and the increasingly great role played by the countries of the third world in international affairs.

since imperialism came into being, the seas and oceans have been turned into a place where it has run rampant and carried out aggression and plunder at will. after world war ii, the united states attempted to dominate the world and increasingly extended its activities from the sea surface to the sea-bed and carried out expansion over vast areas of the seas and the sea-bed. it dispatched its warships and vessels everywhere to intrude into the territorial seas and plunder the sea-bed resources of other countries and even commit outright armed intervention and aggression. in recent years, the other superpower has not been content to lag behind. it entertains the idea that a country which first gains control of the sea-bed will control the whole world, and so it has energetically sought expansion on the seas and oceans and reached out its tentacles everywhere. to dominate the seas and oceans, the two superpowers are contending and colluding with each other at the same time. while paying lip service to the "peaceful uses of the sea-bed", they are in fact stepping up the development of nuclear submarines, emplacing nuclear weapons and various military installations and using the sea-bed for arms expansion and war preparations. while talking glibly about the "joint exploitation of sea-bed resources", they are in fact sending out their so-called "research vessels" and "fishing fleets" everywhere for brazen intrusion into the territorial seas and unbridled plunder of the sea-bed resources and coastal fishing areas of other countries. these hegemonic and expansionist acts on their part cause a great damage and constitute a grave threat to the economic interests and state sovereignty of many coastal countries, especially of those of asia, africa and latin america.

but the times are advancing, and tremendous changes have taken place in the situation in asia, africa and latin america in the twenty or more years since world war ii. a series of new emerging asian and african countries have attained independence one after another. they have waged unremitting struggles to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty and have continuously won new victories. the struggle of latin american countries, which suffered long from imperialist enslavement and oppression, is vigorously rising against imperialist aggression, control and plunder. to resist robbery and plunder of their coastal fishing areas by the superpowers, many latin american countries have successively declared the limits of their territorial seas to be 200 nautical miles and unfolded a just struggle in defence of their

rights over territorial seas. In the last few years, this struggle against maritime hegemony has gradually extended from the east coast of South Pacific to the various seas and oceans of the world, and from Latin America to Asia and Africa and even to North Europe and North America, forming a strong irresistible surging torrent pounding the overlord position of the superpowers coveting monopoly of the seas and oceans.

Imperialism is not reconciled to its defeats. The superpowers are resorting to all means of intimidation and blandishment in a vain attempt to bring into submission those Latin American countries which are taking the lead in putting up resistance. However, the increasingly awakening Latin American countries and peoples cannot be subdued, cowed or taken in. They have firmly stood up against the great pressure of the superpowers and carried out staunch struggles. Once pirate fishing vessels of a superpower intrude into their territorial seas, they put them under arrest and impose fines on them, thus putting the superpowers, which have always been swashbuckling and domineering, in predicament and ever-increasing isolation before the people of the whole world. The heroic struggle of Latin American countries to safeguard their rights over their territorial seas has won the sympathy, admiration and support of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and the rest of the world. It has proved once again that so long as small and weak countries in the world raise their vigilance, persist in struggle, strengthen their unity and support one another, they will surely win victory and that the superpowers, though looking monstrous, are nothing terrible and can surely be defeated.

The superpowers have tried hard to find pretexts in international law for their own defence. First they asserted that "the breadth of the territorial seas of states has been defined by international law to be three nautical miles". Then, under the pressure of circumstances, they changed their tune and said that it should be "12 nautical miles". By this they attempt to attack the Latin American countries' proclamation of 200 nautical miles territorial seas as "violation of international law". But this is of no avail. As everyone with some knowledge of international law is aware, there has never been in history a unified and internationally recognized breadth of territorial seas. The breadth of the territorial sea of each country in the world is determined by the country itself, and this is within its state sovereignty. With regard to the breadth of territorial seas of various countries in the world, there are at present more than ten different stipulations, ranging from 3 to 200 nautical miles. What is most ridiculous, when a superpower says 3 nautical miles today, others must not say no; when tomorrow it, in collusion with the other superpower, says the breadth must not exceed 12 nautical miles, others have again to follow suit. By this logic, only the superpowers have the final say, while the other one hundred and scores of countries in the world can only submissively obey and let themselves be trampled upon at will. Can this be "international law" exclamation? It is crude violation of the principle of state sovereignty. It is imperialist logic, pure and simple.

Furthermore, the superpowers wantonly distort the principles of "freedom of international navigation" and "freedom of fishing". The very truth is that they

are sending pirate fishing vessels everywhere to intrude into the territorial seas and plunder the fishery resources of other countries, yet they turn things upside down and slander the just stand of small and medium-sized countries in safeguarding their territorial seas and defending their sea and fishery resources as violation of "freedom of international navigation" and "freedom of fishing". this would actually mean that the superpowers alone have the "freedom" of playing the bully and running amuck on the seas and oceans and can take the territorial seas and the sea-bed of other countries as their own "inland waters" and "colonies" where they can act recklessly and do whatever they please, while other coastal countries, especially those of asia, africa and latin america, do not even have the right to defend their own territorial seas. should such "freedom" be permitted in the world today in the 1970's?

all this shows that the current international struggle with regard to the rights over the seas and oceans is in essence a struggle between aggression and anti-aggression, plunder and anti-plunder and hegemony and anti-hegemony, a struggle of asian, african and latin american countries in defence of their national rights and interests and state sovereignty against the maritime hegemony of the superpowers.

the chinese people suffered long from imperialist aggression and oppression. the united states is to this date forcibly occupying china's territory taiwan province, and of late it has colluded with the japanese reactionaries and used the fraud of "the reversion of okinawa" in an attempt to include into japan's territory the tiaoyu and other islands -- islands appertaining to china's taiwan province. furthermore, the united states has in the past few years collaborated with japan and colluded with the Chiang Kai-shek clique in making frequent and large-scale "submarine explorations" in china's coastal seas in an attempt to further plunder china's coastal sea-bed resources. these flagrant acts of aggression and plunder cannot but arouse the utmost indignation of the chinese people. on behalf of the government of the people's republic of china, i hereby reiterate: china's taiwan province and all the islands appertaining to it, including tiaoyu island, huangwei island, chihwei island, nanhsiao island, peihhsiao island, etc. are part of china's sacred territory. the sea-bed resources of the seas around these islands and of the shallow seas adjacent to other parts of china belong completely to china and it is absolutely impermissible for any foreign aggressor to poke his fingers into them. no one whosoever is allowed to create any pretext to carve off china's territory and plunder the sea resources belonging to china. and no one will ever succeed in doing so.

china shared the common lot and faces the common historical tasks of the great majority of the countries of asia, africa and latin america. the chinese government and people consistently and firmly stand by all small and medium-sized countries subjected to aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying by the superpowers, and firmly stand by the peoples of asia, africa and latin america. we firmly support the just struggle initiated by latin american countries in defence of the 200 nautical-miles territorial sea rights and their own marine resources, and resolutely oppose the maritime hegemony and power politics of the superpowers.

Mr. Chairman and fellow representatives,

more than three years have passed since the United Nations and our sea-bed committee started to discuss the questions concerning the law of the sea. Many sessions have been held and various proposals put forward, yet little has been achieved by these sessions. The crux of the problems lies in the fact that the one or two superpowers truculently ignore the sovereignty of the majority of countries and try hard to cook up and impose on others "resolutions" and "conventions" designed to strengthen their hegemonic position on the seas and oceans and put a "legal" cloak on their encroachment upon the sovereignty and plunder of the resources of other countries. This extremely abnormal state of affairs definitely must not be allowed to continue.

We hold that equality of all countries regardless of their size should be a basic principle to which all countries jointly adhere in settling questions concerning the rights over the seas and oceans. We are resolutely opposed to the one or two superpowers acting arbitrarily, ordering others about and imposing their will upon others.

We hold that it is within each country's sovereignty to decide the scope of its rights over territorial seas. All coastal countries are entitled to determine reasonably the limits of their territorial seas and jurisdiction according to their geographical conditions, taking into account the needs of their security and national economic interests and having regard for the requirement that countries situated on the same seas shall define the boundary between their territorial seas on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

We maintain that all coastal countries have the right of disposal of their natural resources in their coastal seas, sea-bed and the subsoil thereof so as to promote the well-being of their people and the development of their national economic interests.

We maintain that the seas and oceans as well as their submarine resources beyond the limits of territorial seas and national jurisdiction are in principle commonly owned by all the peoples of the world. Questions of their use, exploitation, etc. should be settled through consultation by all countries jointly, both coastal and land-locked. And manipulation and monopoly by the one or two superpowers are absolutely impermissible.

We maintain that the sea-bed and ocean floor beyond the limits of territorial seas and national jurisdiction should only be used for peaceful purposes in the interest of safeguarding international peace and security. They should not be used to serve the policy of military aggression of any country.

We maintain that the five principles of peaceful coexistence should be the principles guiding relations among states. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and their rights and interests in the seas and oceans should be universally respected. We are resolutely opposed to any foreign aggression, interference and plunder.

we are deeply convinced that these propositions are in conformity with the fundamental interests of all the peoples throughout the world and also with the spirit of the principles of the united nations charter, and they provide a basis for equitable and reasonable settlement through discussions of the questions concerning the rights over the seas and oceans. we hope that the above propositions of the chinese delegation will be given serious consideration by this session and that, through the common efforts of all the participating countries, this session will make favourable progress.

UN Sea-Bed Committee Continues Meeting

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 3, 1972)

the u.n. committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction continued its meeting this morning.

an chih-yuan, representative of the people's republic of china to the committee, made a speech stating the principled stand of the chinese government on rights over the seas and oceans. (full text of the speech to be released separately)

Leopoldo benites of ecuador, in a speech, lodged protest with the u.s. against the pressure it exerted on ecuador by passing a law in congress prohibiting aid to ecuador in retaliation for ecuador's detention of u.s. vessels fishing in ecuador's territorial waters. he stressed that as the chinese representative just pointed out, there was no agreed norm for the breadth of the territorial sea of states under existing international law, and that the detention and subsequent imposition of fines on foreign vessels violating the territorial sea of ecuador fell within the jurisdiction of ecuador. thus the recent action by the u.s. congress represented the purest form of imperialism by a large country against a small one, he said.

the u.s. congress action also amounted to a coercive measure against the work of the sea-bed committee itself, he added.

representatives of peru, chile, brazil and china then made speeches one after another at the meeting in support of the just stand of ecuador.

javier perez de cuellar of peru said that ecuador had acted against the u.s. fishing vessels in accordance with its sovereign rights, and that the action taken by the u.s. congress should be rejected as being contrary to the provisions of the organization of american states. by taking the action the u.s. congress intended to impose its will upon others, for it knows that more and more countries are now in favour of 200-mile territorial sea limits.

humberto diaz casanueva of chile said that chile regarded the u.s. congress action as extremely serious not only for ecuador but for the whole

of the third world. the government and people of chile express full solidarity with the government and people of ecuador in their determination to exercise sovereign rights over their national resources despite coercion and intimidation. the chilean people fully understand the feeling of the people of ecuador because chile is also a victim of acts of aggression, he said.

ramiro guerreiro of brazil pointed out that the u.s. congress action would be damaging and counter-productive to the negotiations now taking place in the committee.

chinese representative an chih-yuan then made a brief speech on the subject in full support for the just stand taken by the representatives of ecuador and other latin american countries. he said: "the chinese delegation resolutely supports the just stand of the ecuador delegation and denounces the power politics and hegemony practised by the united states. in firm defence of their rights over 200-nautical-mile territorial sea, the ecuador government put under arrest and imposed fines upon the u.s. fishing vessels which violated ecuador's sovereignty and unlawfully intruded into the territorial sea of ecuador. the ecuador people's acts of safeguarding their rights over the territorial sea and protecting their important economic resources are perfectly just and are in conformity with the principles of the united nations charter.

"at present, just as the sea-bed committee began its work, the u.s. congress made a decision to stop all its aid to ecuador. this is not only a flagrant act of pressure brought to bear on a sovereign state, but also an attempt to bring pressure to bear on the sea-bed committee and affect the orientation of this session. we resolutely oppose this. the just struggle initiated by the latin american countries in safeguarding their rights over territorial seas, protecting marine resources and opposing the hegemony over the seas and oceans, will surely win the sympathy and support of all the countries and peoples that uphold justice," the chinese representative declared.

representatives of the u.s. and japan then made short remarks in an attempt to white-wash themselves. u.s. representative john stevenson claimed that the u.s. congress action was "consistent" with international law. japanese representative motoo ogiso even clamoured that japan had "sovereignty" over china's territory of tiaoyu and other islands.

General Debate Continues at UN Sea-Bed Committee Meeting

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 10, 1972)

the u.n.
committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the
ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction
continued its general debate this morning.

chinese representative an chih-yuan made a speech
at the meeting, refuting japanese representative's
absurd claim on march 3 for japan's "sovereignty" over
china's territory tiaoyu and other islands
and his attacks and slanders against china.

an chih-yuan said, "in his speech the japanese
representative accused china of dictating to the sea-
bed committee its terms on the question of the tiaoyu
and other islands. such an accusation is utterly untenable.
in our speech the chinese delegation pointed out: 'the
current international struggle with regard to the rights
over the seas and oceans is in essence a struggle between
aggression and anti-aggression, plunder and anti-
plunder and hegemony and anti-hegemony.' in this
connection, the chinese delegation has raised a most
important question of principle, that is: if a fair
and reasonable settlement is to be achieved on the question
of the rights over the seas and oceans, which will be
in the fundamental interests of the people of all countries
and in conformity with the spirit of the principles
of the united nations charter, it is essential to
oppose the policies of aggression, plunder and hegemony.
the japanese government's wild attempt to occupy china's
territory tiaoyu and other islands and plunder the sea-
bed resources in the vicinity of these islands is a
glaring act of aggression, to which we of course cannot
remain indifferent. in solemnly stating the chinese
government's stand in our speech, our purpose is not only
to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity
of our country and protect our sea-bed resources from
encroachment, but also to uphold, together with all countries
that stand for justice, the basic principle of opposing
the policies of aggression, plunder and hegemony on the
question of the rights over the seas and oceans."

citing historical facts, he continued that "the tiaoyu
and other islands have been china's territory since
ancient times. back in the ming dynasty, i.e. in the
15th and 16th centuries a.d., these islands were
already within china's sea defence areas; they were islands
appertaining to china's taiwan but not to ryukyu, which
is now known as okinawa."

with reference to the remarks made recently by chieftains
of the japanese government on taiwan, an chih-yuan
pointed out, "the japanese government harbours not only
the wild attempt to include china's tiaoyu and other islands
into japan's territory but also the ambitious design to
dip their fingers again into china's territory taiwan
province. as is known to all, taiwan has been china's
territory since ancient times. after world war ii,
taiwan was already returned to china. should the japanese
government refuse to draw a lesson from the defeat brought
by its aggression and cling to its obdurate course of wilful
expansion, it will definitely come to no good end exclamation"

he pointed out that japanese militarism is a dangerous force of aggression in the asian and pacific region.

an chih-yuan concluded: japan is china's neighbour. the japanese people are a great people. there exists a profound friendship between the chinese and japanese peoples. the chinese government and people have consistently supported the japanese people in their valiant struggle to demand the unconditional and complete recovery of okinawa. but the chinese people absolutely will not permit the u.s. and japanese governments using china's territory tiaoyu and other islands to make a deal and sow discord in the friendly relations between the chinese and japanese peoples.

when the chinese representative was speaking, japanese representative motoo ogiso was very uneasy in his seat. he tried to interrupt the speech "on a point of order" under the assertion that the matters raised by the chinese representative were not within the mandate of the committee. but the committee chairman hamilton shirley amerasinghe, permanent representative of ceylon, gave a ruling that since the matters had been raised at a previous meeting, the chinese representative might proceed in reply.

after an chih-yuan's speech, motoo ogiso made a short speech in which he was unable to find a ground to justify the japanese claim.

others addressing today's meeting were representatives of nicaragua, fiji, zambia and senegal.

**Chinese Representative Reiterates Firm
Support for Just Struggle of Zimbabwe
People at Meeting of UN Special Committee
on Decolonization**

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 10, 1972)

the united nations special committee on decolonization held meetings on march 8 and 10 to discuss the question of rhodesia. the representatives of sierra leone, trinidad and tobago, china and tanzania spoke at the meetings, denouncing imperialism for its collusion with the racist regime of rhodesia to suppress and be hostile to the african people and expressing firm support for the just struggle of the zimbabwe people.

at today's meeting, chinese representative chang yung-kuan made a speech in which he said that "the essence of the question of southern rhodesia is the zimbabwe people's fight against outside colonialist rule and for national independence. the smith racist regime is a direct outcome of the british colonialist policy. as is known to all, with the connivance and support of britain, the rhodesian racist regime headed by ian smith has enforced internally an extreme fascist rule and a barbarous policy of racial discrimination, depriving the african people, who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population, of all their political rights; externally, it has colluded with the white colonialist authorities in south africa and the portuguese colonialist rulers in brutally repressing the national liberation movement of the people of southern africa

and carrying out armed encroachment upon neighbouring independent african countries. the so-called 'proposals' for the 'settlement of the rhodesian independence dispute' concocted by the british government and the smith racist regime last november and the so-called 'test of acceptability' by the 'pearce commission' are an out-and-out conspiracy and fraud, designed to carry on their opposition to the zimbabwe people's struggle for national independence and to legalize the racist regime of southern rhodesia. in this connection, it must also be pointed out that the british government has all along received the support and encouragement of some nato countries in its reactionary acts of abetting and shielding the rhodesian fascist regime."

chang yung-kuan said, "the valiant struggle waged by the heroic zimbabwe people for national independence is perfectly just and has won extensive sympathy and support from all the justice-upholding countries and peoples in the world. the mammoth protest demonstrations held by the zimbabwe people in firm opposition to the so-called british-rhodesian 'settlement proposals' and the 'test of acceptability' have pronounced the bankruptcy of the political fraud concocted by britain in collusion with the rhodesian racist regime. the chinese government and people firmly support the just struggle of the zimbabwe people and have always held that britain must immediately end the colonialist rule of the white racist regime in southern rhodesia and let the zimbabwe people realize their national independence free from any outside interference. that is the universal desire and sacred right of the zimbabwe people."

chang yung-kuan condemned the british representative for the misuse of another veto at a special meeting in africa of the u.n. security council not long ago, which made it impossible for the security council to fulfill its duty on the question of rhodesia. he stated, "imperialism and colonialism will not step down from the stage of history of their own accord. in their speeches at the security council meetings in africa, the representatives of many african countries and liberation movements drew their conclusion from the practice of their own struggle: 'take up arms, strengthen unity and persevere in the fight -- this is the only way to freedom and independence.' we are deeply convinced that in face of the awakened zimbabwe people no schemes plotted by the british government and the smith regime of rhodesia will ever succeed and that with the solidarity and support of the peoples of the world and all the justice-upholding countries, the heroic zimbabwe people will surely win complete victory in their struggle for national liberation."

in his speech chang yung-kuan reiterated the stand of the chinese government on the question of rhodesia:

- 1) we must sternly condemn the rhodesian racist regime for its atrocious bloody repression of the zimbabwe people; condemn the british and other governments for their reactionary support to rhodesia, south africa and the portuguese colonialist authorities; categorically reject the so-called "settlement proposals" concocted by britain in collusion with the racist regime of rhodesia and declare the activities of the "pearce commission" illegal.

- 2) the white colonialist authorities of south africa must immediately withdraw their police and military personnel from the territory of rhodesia.

- 3) sanctions against the rhodesian racist regime should be further strengthened and widened: sanctions should also

be imposed on south africa and the portuguese colonialist authorities; the united states and all other countries that have violated the u.n. resolution on sanctions against southern rhodesia should be sternly condemned.

4) we should appeal to all governments and peoples to give active solidarity and support to the zimbabwe people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racial discrimination and apartheid and for national independence.

finally, chang yung-kuan pointed out in all seriousness: "not long ago, some people were manufacturing and spreading rumours through their press and other propaganda machines slandering the people's republic of china as trading with the white colonialist authorities in rhodesia and importing chrome from rhodesia. this is sheer fabrication made with ulterior motives. in his letter to the secretary-general of the united nations dated january 27, 1972, the chinese foreign minister solemnly declared: 'in order to support the just struggle of the people of zimbabwe, the chinese government has always refrained from having any diplomatic contacts with the rhodesian white racist regime and long ago severed all economic and trade relations with it, direct or indirect.' this is a well-known fact. living on rumour-mongering, some people are trying to distort the chinese government's consistent stand on the question of southern rhodesia so as to sow discord in the friendly relations between china and the african countries and sabotage the friendship between the chinese and african peoples. they will never succeed in these schemes."

e.w. mwasakafyuka of tanzania also spoke at the meeting. he stated that the tanzanian government policy on rhodesia was to support the people of zimbabwe to secure national independence. he appealed to the countries of asia, africa, latin america and other areas not to endorse the actions of the british government on rhodesia, pointing out that the "proposals for settlement of the independence dispute of rhodesia" were a "cunning criminal act" of the british government, an affront to the peoples of the world in general and to the african people in particular. he denounced the united states for importing chrome from rhodesia, noting that it was a "hostile act" against the african people. he demanded that the united states carry out the u.n. resolution on sanctions against rhodesia and stop the act immediately.

at the meeting on march 8, the representatives of sierra leone and trinidad and tobago in their speeches rejected the so-called proposals for settlement of the question of rhodesia concocted by the british government and the smith racist regime. they also demanded that sanctions against the smith regime be strengthened.

Chinese Deputy Representative Speaks in
UN Committee

(NCNA-English United Nations, Mar. 24, 1972)

sub-
committee 2 of the u.n. committee on the peaceful uses of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction met here this afternoon. Shen wei-liang, deputy representative of the chinese delegation to the committee, spoke at the meeting. his speech reads in full as follows:

mr. chairman,

the chinese delegation has listened carefully to the speeches made by the representatives of various countries. in their statements, the representatives of quite a few developing countries firmly defended their national rights over the seas and oceans and their natural resources, opposed the superpowers' policies of hegemony and plunder and stood for a fair and reasonable settlement of the question of the rights over the seas and oceans. however, some people have recently echoed the other superpower with hypocritical arguments, flagrantly attacking the just stand of the developing countries for the protection of their maritime resources and in defence of their national sovereignty and security and openly defending the policies of aggression, plunder and hegemony. in this connection, the chinese delegation deems it necessary to state its position.

at the recent meetings, some people tried to find a theoretical basis for the superpowers' wilful plunder of the fishery resources of other countries. they asserted that fish can live only a limited period of time, that leaving it uncaught will cause unnecessary losses, and that with the catch of fish protein which man needs will increase for the benefit of mankind. under the cover of these fine words, they stubbornly oppose the exercise of any jurisdiction by the developing countries over the seas beyond 12 nautical miles. they even asserted that if this practice is carried out, "the interest of most of the states will suffer", and demanded that "the interests of the states the fishermen of which carry out distant water fishing be taken into account". this means that the superpowers' fishing vessels should be allowed to continue to run amuck on the seas and oceans and plunder the fishery resources of other countries. they claimed that such plunder is meritorious rather than criminal, because it can make a so-called "valuable contribution" to the solution of the question of starvation on the globe. on the other hand, they maintained that it was improper and guilty for the developing countries to take the acts of widening their territorial seas and fishery areas to defend their state sovereignty, develop their national economy and protect their maritime resources, because such acts harm the "interests of most states". it is sheer deceptive sophistry for them to claim as representing "most states" by reversing the right and wrong. the people of the world will never accept such fallacy spread by the superpowers that "it is meritorious to plunder and criminal to defend one's sovereignty".

in order to justify the superpowers' theory for plundering the fishery resources of other countries,

those people have further put forth the argument that "fish does not recognize the borders imposed by man". this seems to be very plausible. however, it should be pointed out that fish recognizes neither the 200 nautical-mile limit nor the 12 nautical-mile limit. therefore, this argument can in no way help the superpowers prove their claim for a 12 nautical-mile limit to be more justifiable than that of 200 nautical miles, but can only make themselves an object of ridicule.

in trying to restrict the territorial seas and fishery areas of various countries within the limit of 12 nautical miles, the purpose of the superpowers is not only to facilitate their wilful plunder of maritime resources, but, what is more important, to push their hegemony over the world. in their opinion, a country which first gains control of the sea-bed will control the whole world. consequently, apart from large numbers of ocean-going fishing vessels, they have sent out what they call "research vessels" to carry out activities everywhere and are stepping up the development of nuclear submarines and the establishment of various military installations, using the sea-bed for arms expansion and war preparation. facts are more eloquent than words. no amount of high-sounding words about the "peaceful uses of the sea-bed and ocean floor" at the meeting can cover up their wild ambition for big-power hegemony and world domination.

posing themselves as the protector of the landlocked countries, those people are saying profusely that they cannot ignore the deprivation of the right of dozens of landlocked countries to use the maritime resources. this is aimed at sowing discord in the relations between the landlocked and coastal countries and sabotaging the unity among the developing countries so as to extricate the superpowers from their political isolation. however, this is utterly futile. despite the difference of geographical conditions between the landlocked and coastal countries, the countries of the third world are bound together by their common goal of opposing imperialism and colonialism and safeguarding national independence; they share the same basic interests. we believe that all the developing countries will cooperate with and support each other and arrive at a reasonable settlement of the questions between them on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. this is borne out by the fact that during the present session, the developing countries of asia, africa and latin america, through full consultation, have reached agreement on a common list of questions concerning the law of sea. this demonstrates the developing countries' desire and determination for unity.

at present, the struggles of the developing countries to defend their rights over the seas and oceans and to oppose the superpowers' maritime hegemony have become a powerful historical trend. in order to attain their aim of world hegemony, the superpowers are exerting economic pressure and carrying out military threats and political sabotage against the developing countries. this can only evoke the stronger opposition of the developing countries and hasten the bankruptcy and failure of the policy of hegemony.

the above facts have further shown that the current international struggle with regard to the rights over the seas and oceans is in essence a struggle between aggression and anti-aggression, between plunder and anti-plunder and between hegemony and anti-hegemony, a struggle of the developing countries and other small and medium countries against the superpowers' hegemony over the seas and oceans. the chinese delegation is ready to cooperate with the delegations of all countries upholding justice and work for a fair and reasonable settlement of the question of the rights over the seas and oceans.

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